

ECONOMY IN BONDAGE
TO THE PENTAGON

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES



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**A WORLD WITHOUT ARMS:
THE PROS AND CONS**

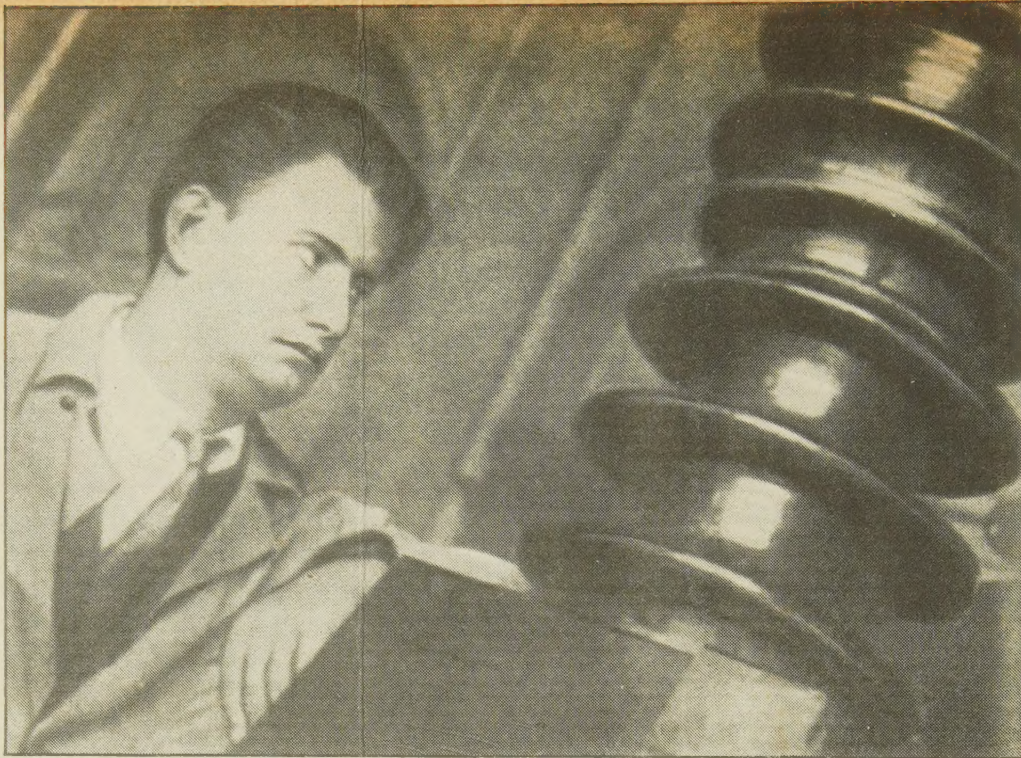
**MONGOLIA: WINDOW
INTO OUTER SPACE**

**WHERE IS ULENSPIEGEL'S
BIRTHPLACE?**

1917-1987

PIONEERS OF SOVIET SCIENCE

At the time of the revolution Igor Kurchatov, the future nuclear physicist, was 14 years old. He worked as a bill-poster, later as a teacher in a children's home; he chopped firewood for a living and was also a watchman in a cinema. At night he pored over books in the flickering light of an oil lamp. Much the same was the youth of many of his young contemporaries: Sergei Korolyov, Lev Landau, Pyotr Kapitsa and a great many others.



Pyotr Kapitsa, the eminent Soviet physicist.

From the very outset Soviet government allotted science a cardinal role in the reconstruction of the then backward country, in the building of socialism. Even in the first and most difficult years it did everything possible to help men of science. In December 1921 the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation issued, on Lenin's initiative, a decree "On improving the conditions of life of scientific workers" and in January 1922 another on providing them with better housing. The vistas now opened, the opportunities afforded to serve the people, attracted to science those eager to devote themselves utterly to scientific research.

At a time when the country was racked by economic dislocation and

hunger, the enthusiasts at the Central Aerohydrodynamic Institute (TSAGI) were grappling with the theory and practice of aircraft construction. In May 1922 the first Soviet aeroplane—a monoplane—was tested. There was a shortage of bread and firewood, yet the personnel of the Nizhny Novgorod radio laboratory drew up far-reaching plans for a nationwide radio network. In Leningrad, Academician Abram Joffe, "Papa Joffe," gathered around him a group of talented young physicists and initiated research into polymers and semiconductors, electronic phenomena and nuclear physics.

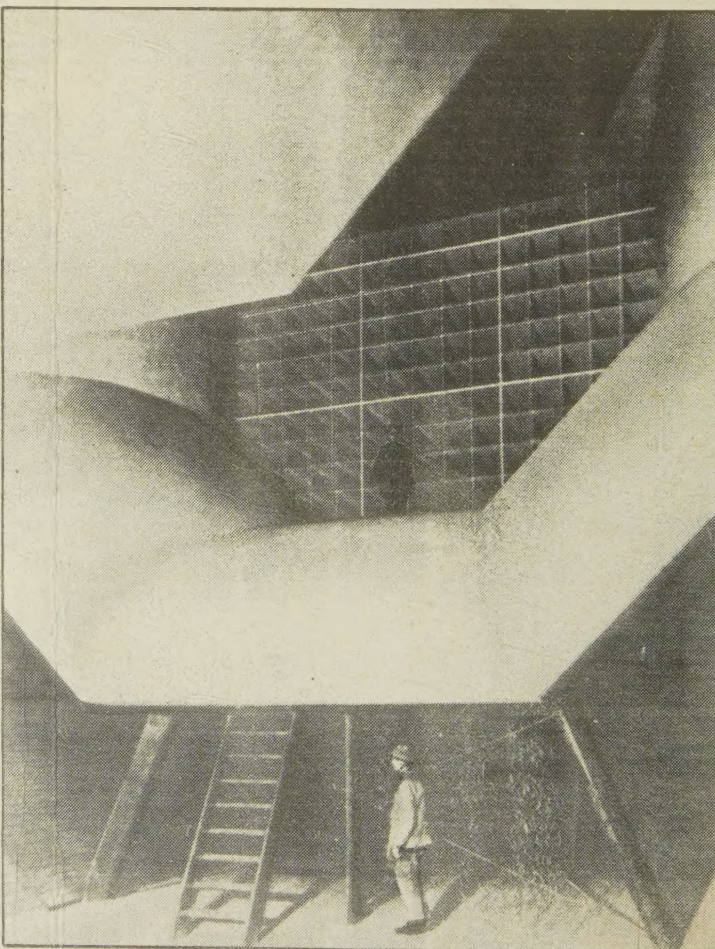
The attitude of scientists of the older generation to the revolution differed. Some refused to accept it and left the country. Others, like the renowned physiologist Ivan Pavlov, openly hostile at first, in time became ardent supporters of Soviet government. The majority of the foremost Russian scientists, however, sided with the people at once and unconditionally.

Physiologist Kliment Timiryazev took pride less in his numerous academic honours than in being a member of the Moscow

Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies. Ivan Gubkin, a recognized authority on oil geology, who happened to be in the United States in the autumn of

Igor Kurchatov at a high-voltage installation.

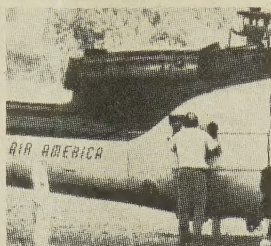
1917, declared: "The sun of a new life, the sun of a new world has risen over Russia."



On December 31, 1925 the world's biggest wind tunnel was completed at TSAGI.

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An Air America helicopter in Indo-China. Cargo: opium.



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The monument to Ulenspiegel in his birthplace, Damme, Belgium.

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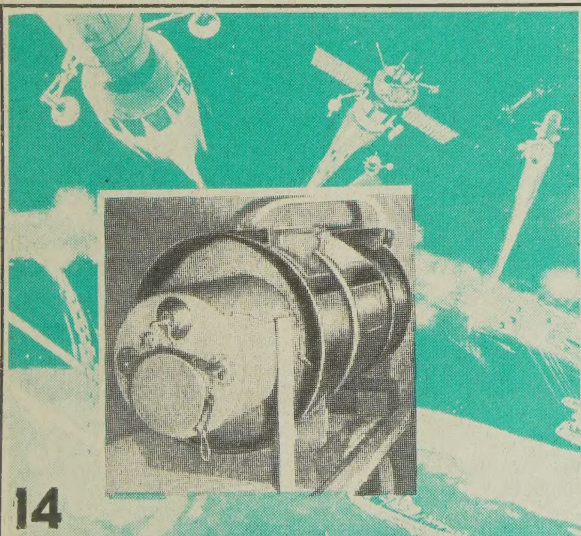
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**THE "MADMAN"
AND THE BOMB**
Laser space patrols
will neutralize all
missile attacks, SDI
apologists contend.
It is claimed that
a space-based defence
system will make
nuclear weaponry
"unnecessary and
obsolete." But suppose
a nuclear warhead can
be carried in
a knapsack!

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Many Italians recall the war with horror. Millions perished, millions died senseless deaths. Many fathers and mothers never saw their sons again. Many wives with toddlers were left to manage on their own.

Like every honest person I think governments should keep to a policy of détente. There must be no repetition of the war!

ANTONIO FORGIONE

Lucera, Italy

I am most impressed by how openly and frankly you discuss the difficulties and problems in your country and, in particular, the way in which you try to cope with them. I hope the course of renewal upon which your country has set foot will be beneficial to other countries as well. We must learn from each other, help each other, and share our expertise. I wish your country and its people great success in the process of renewal.

I am convinced that your party will successfully continue with its policy for the good of man, for peace on earth.

HARALD GRUNBECK

Magdeburg, G.D.R.

I always follow your articles about a nuclear-free world as I think it the only sure guarantee of a secure future.

I would like my view to reach the ears of Mikhail Gorbachev, your leader, as I wholeheartedly welcome his policy. I think it essential that the whole world should support him.

LIONEL BEST

New York, U.S.A.

EDITORIAL

FACING ASIA

Clearly, the problem of peace and security is as acute and pressing for the Asian and Pacific nations as it is for Europeans. Speaking of the nuclear threat hanging over the world, one must not forget that it was Asians—the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—who were the victims of the first American atomic bombs. It has long transpired that the U.S. planned nuclear attacks on two more Asian peoples—the Koreans and the Vietnamese. The U.S. has conducted dozens of nuclear tests in Micronesia.

Over the last few years the U.S. military have clearly set their sights on using the vast expanses of Asia and the Pacific as another arena of military and political confrontation, and deploying nuclear missiles there as they have done in Western Europe and the Atlantic.

The enormous Asian and Pacific region, which accounts for two thirds of the world's population, must not be allowed to become a source of tension, an arena of military confrontation. To look for ways of guaranteeing security in the region and settling disputes and conflicts there, to join hands in weaving the fabric of peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation—bilateral, multilateral and regional—such is the gist of the programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok last year.

To pool efforts in the search for ways to strengthen peace and security in Asia and the Pacific, and broaden contacts and interaction, was the leitmotif of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's extensive tour in early March. The tour took in Thailand, Australia, Indonesia, Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam.

"We travel across the planet, to places far from our country," the Soviet minister said in Canberra, "in order to say: let us work together to prevent the nuclear Armageddon."

Whether in Bangkok, Canberra or Jakarta, the negotiations revealed, to some extent or other, important points of contact on the cardinal issues of today and a mutual striving to promote dialogue and expand mutually profitable economic links and cultural exchanges. The three countries of Indo-China and the Soviet Union see eye to eye. It was pointed out in joint documents that many-sided relations with them would continue to gain in scale and depth. The U.S.S.R. reaffirmed its support for the constructive approach taken by Hanoi, Vientiane and Phnompenh to a political settlement of the tense situation involving Kampuchea and for their policy of dialogue with the ASEAN countries aimed at making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation.

The activity of Soviet diplomacy in the Asian-Pacific region is a constituent part of Moscow's all-round peace offensive. The latest Soviet proposal for an agreement on medium-range missiles further contributes to universal security, in Asia as elsewhere.

The Soviet Union does not at all claim a monopoly on working out a formula for all-Asian security. We are convinced that this should be the common concern of all the Asian and Pacific countries, large and small, whatever their political and socio-economic systems.

The fourth dialogue



From our special correspondents

VITALY IGNATENKO and ANATOLY KOVRIGIN

A dialogue on problems of disarmament and détente, sponsored by the International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces, was held in the capital of Austria.

Today each one of us is more conscious than ever of being directly involved in making history. This is why awareness of the responsibility for saving the world from a nuclear holocaust and ensuring the survival of mankind is the moral and political hallmark of millions today. For the first time ever, mankind has become aware of itself as a single whole, and of the multitudinous worldwide links that bind it together. It is learning to balance out its interests, both common and specific. We are coming to realize increasingly clear that none of the urgent problems we are going to encounter tomorrow will be solved unless there is lasting peace.

In all spheres of activity—whether economics or science, diplomacy or culture—every effort must be made to strengthen peace, which cannot be construed simply as the absence of war, but as a fair and democratic system of international relations. Attempts to get people accustomed to coexist with nuclear weapons must be abandoned. We must learn to live without rather than with nuclear weapons.

Moscow—Vienna

All these tasks on which history is now focussing have caused new processes to declare themselves in public movements. The very real danger of nuclear self-destruction brings people from all walks of life, in dozens of countries on different continents into the peace movement and adds to the effectiveness of the effort for a nuclear-free world. The striving of different political movements for dialogue and a profound study of the various positions—coinciding, parallel or alternative—on the topical issues of war and peace is a substantial element in this process.

This imperative of the age was authoritatively and fruitfully confirmed by the Moscow international Forum for a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind.

The Vienna International Conference for Disarmament and Détente was a logical extension of the Moscow forum. It revealed that socio-political quarters in Western Europe, the U.S. and the developing countries are increasingly interested in a joint discussion—based on an objective analysis—of the present state and prospects of the peace forces' fight for disarmament, security and human survival.

The Main Subject

This winter has been unusually long and cold in Austria. Although unwarranted by the calendar, freezing weather lasted almost throughout March when ordinarily the lawns of Vienna's parks are already green and the trees are about to burst into leaf. The city had not shed its blanket of snow, and the lakes—and even the Danube in places—remained icebound. The Viennese say nature has not played such a trick on them in a hundred years.... This naturally gave TV and newspaper weathermen much to talk and write about.

Newspaper articles and TV and radio addresses by journalists, political scientists and military from various countries suggest, however, that the attention of the Austrian public is focussed on Mikhail Gorbachev's February 28 proposal for eliminating all medium-range missiles in Europe. The proposal had been made public on the very eve of the Vienna dialogue attended by MPs, leaders of political parties, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, as well as prominent public figures, and distinguished workers in the arts from more than 60 countries. The Soviet proposal largely predetermined the conference's proceedings. Whatever topic speakers at the Vienna dialogue considered, all of them eventually described the Soviet proposal as one that effectively paves the way for real disarmament.

"This is a truly historic move," Nelly

Maes, MP (Flemish National Party), told the conference. "We in Belgium already have 17 American cruise missiles deployed in our territory, with dozens more to be added to them this autumn. I don't think this will happen under the present circumstances, however. Deploying new American missiles now, after the Soviet proposal, would be a dishonest and mean thing to do."

Daniel Abodakpi came from far-off Ghana. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal, he said, can give world developments a direction people on all continents can only dream of. They offer a realistic way of bringing mankind deliverance from the nuclear threat.

Hiroshi Tachiki from Japan took a similar view. "We hope," he said, "that the Soviet initiative will be embodied in a concrete agreement, which is being looked forward to both in and far beyond Europe."

"I shall not live in peace for as long as nuclear weapons exist," said Yuko Yamaguchi who survived the A-bomb attack on Hiroshima over 40 years ago. "How can I? The horror and human suffering I witnessed and lived through on that day are still fresh in my memory. What the American atomic bomb did to the once prosperous city with a population of 400,000 is common knowledge. I lost my parents then. I shall do my utmost to be able to say one day over my parents' grave: all nuclear weapons have been eliminated from earth!"

To Speed Up Progress

The conference examined world problems as being largely interdependent. The discussions held in the meeting's four commissions made it plain that for all the differences of approach taken by various anti-war groups and organizations to the complex problems of the modern world, all of them were unanimous in believing that delivering the world from nuclear weapons, prevent-

ing the militarization of outer space and ending nuclear tests are the most urgent imperatives of the time.

Participants pointed out that it was necessary to speed up progress towards a non-nuclear world today. Proposals that might facilitate such progress were discussed at the seminars. It was suggested, for instance, that the peace forces should step up their struggle for a freeze on strategic and conventional arms, and for the establishment of nuclear-free and chemical weapon-free zones.

Many speakers, representing various countries, denounced the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and pointed out that Western militaristic quarters are using it to cover up their attempts to achieve military superiority. This doctrine, Lorenz Knorr, an F.R.G. public figure, pointed out, was based on the provocative and false assumption that in the face of the "Soviet threat" nuclear deterrence is a guarantee of security for the United States and its NATO allies. However, prominent American experts, among them Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defence, refute this doctrine with convincing arguments.

This, the fourth, Vienna dialogue was also remarkable for a considerable change of attitudes. Although it already has its regular participants, the dialogue is attracting new forces and new movements, and one feels that discussions at it are becoming more acute and, most importantly, more purposeful. Many politicians taking part in the Vienna dialogues obviously seek to influence the policies of their governments and states, and bring them into conformity with the realities of the nuclear age. It is very important to make people realize the unambiguous alternative: either the arms race continues, with all the catastrophic consequences that will ensue, generating new causes of, and pretexts for, conflicts, and the danger of confrontation; or the nations unite, putting concern for their common future above their transient ambitions and selfish interests. In the latter case, it will be possible to make fuller use of the world's enormous scientific and technological potential.

"Thoughts of war arise in people's minds, therefore the idea of protecting peace must be inculcated in them," the UNESCO Constitution says. Participants in the dialogue made it a point to do their utmost to pave the way for nuclear disarmament in people's minds. This is perhaps why the statement drawn up by representatives of different political and public movements in Belgium, Britain, the G.D.R., Italy, Holland, the United States, the Soviet Union, the F.R.G. and Czechoslovakia were unanimously adopted.

The statement said, in part:

"Over the past years peoples have

experienced many moments of bitter disappointment, when numerous reasonable and realistic proposals and even unilateral measures were turned down or ignored. Therefore, we appeal to all peace movements and public organizations to intensify their efforts in order to ensure positive results now.

"Our first demand at present is a moratorium on all activities relating to a further buildup of this type of weapons in order to get rid of them as soon as possible.

"The liquidation of medium-range nuclear missiles can decisively facilitate reaching other agreements—on ending nuclear tests, on strategic arms limitation, on cancelling "star wars" programmes, and on banning chemical weapons and reducing conventional ones.

"A world free of means of mass annihilation is within the reach of our real possibilities. To this end we will continue to act."

Disarmament and Development

This subject was, perhaps, the one that was most discussed. A professional and profound study was given to problems pertaining to economic and other aspects of the arms race. Facts that were an effective indictment of the capitalist system and imperialism's policy of plunder were made public.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the threat of nuclear war is also inherent in the fomenting of regional conflicts and neocolonialist interference in the affairs of developing countries.

It is high time we gave up the habit, participants stressed, of taking it for granted that the centres of economic might enjoy a monopoly on the truth, civilization and universality. A school

of thought prevalent at one time had it that industrial development on certain European or North American models can in itself lead to the raising of living standards everywhere, and that every nation should simply model its life on this or that pattern. This is an erroneous view.

Alarming trends came to light in Vienna, such as the developing countries' constantly increasing share in world military spending. For the developing countries, with their shortage of funds, their backwardness, and poverty-stricken and undernourished populations, even one per cent of world military spending makes a lot of difference as compared with industrialized countries. Second, the interconnection between development and disarmament is now at its closest ever. Therefore, disarmament cannot but be a concern of all mankind, and no nation has the moral right to stand aloof from the effort to achieve it.

One further point. The problem of preventing nuclear war has a direct bearing on the solution of other pressing global problems—food, energy, the environment and so on, which concern the vital interests of all nations and which can be coped with only by the joint effort of all states.

* * *

At plenary sessions, seminars and bilateral meetings participants exchanged their experience of anti-war actions, and suggested new ones. They pointed to the need for constant quests for spheres of cooperation between various anti-war movements, and holding and enlarging the scope of dialogues like the present one with a view to agreeing on still more extensive and effective joint actions.

Vienna, March

We wish you strength and courage



"Mr President, save Charles Hyder's life! Abandon SDI. Join the programme of universal nuclear disarmament. Mankind expects sensible decisions from you."

Nikitin of Sverdlovsk, Aksenov of Voronezh, Borisova of Moscow.... Thousands have signed this call for solidarity with the American astrophysicist Charles Hyder, now on a long hunger strike in protest at the U.S. administration's policy. "We wish Charles Hyder strength and courage," Svetlana Semenova of Moscow says, "but we also want to see him alive in the ranks of peace fighters."

Signatures are being collected to a petition in support of the American scientist. The photo shows a street scene in front of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Photo by V. Krasnoperov

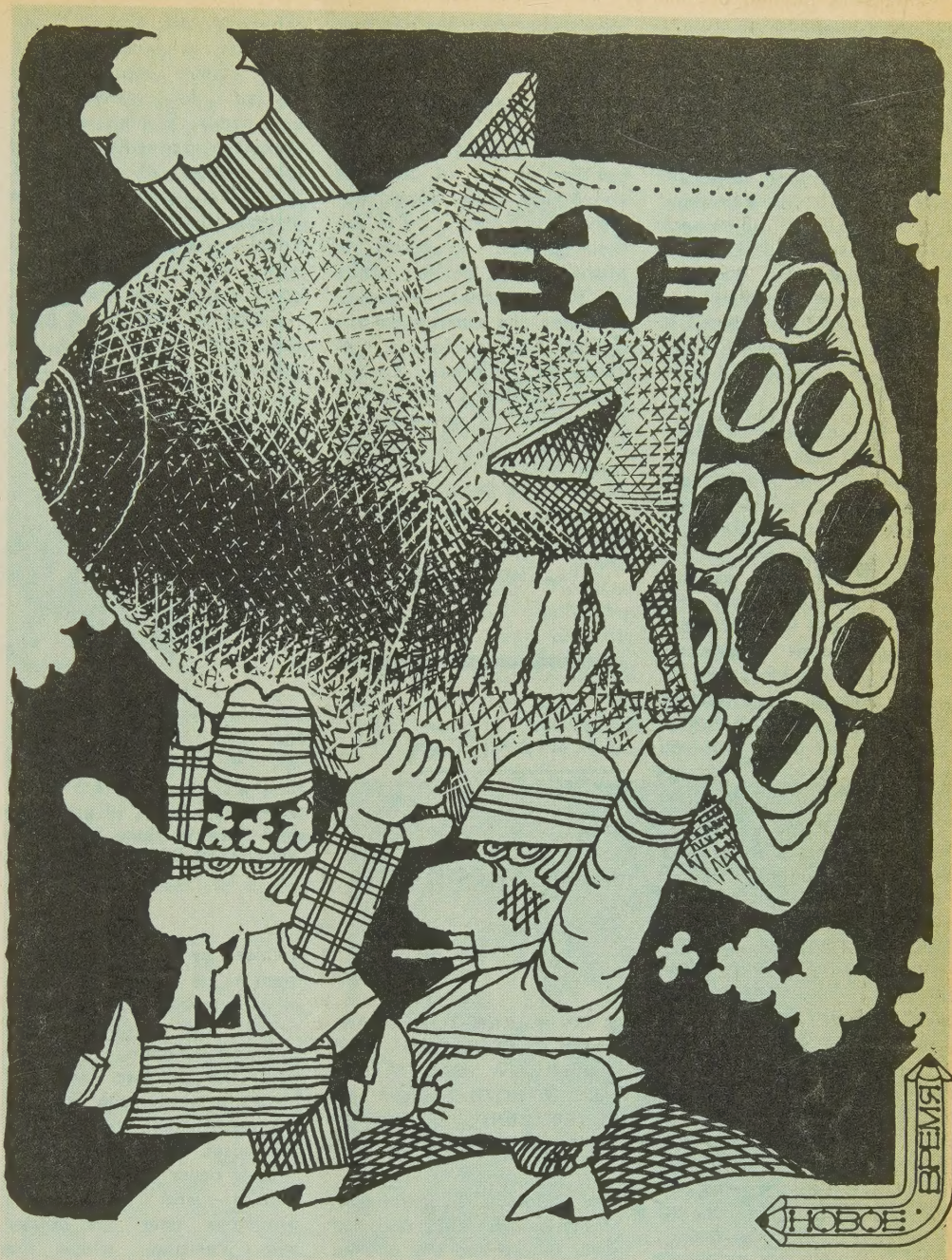
NORTHERN EUROPE

Getting under way?

● FROM BEING A MERELY THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF THE PROS AND CONS, THE CONCEPT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE IS MOVING INTO THE AREA OF PRACTICAL POLITICS.

The regionally instituted interparliamentary committee has drafted a paper that sets out succinctly the basic provisions of a treaty for a nuclear-free Northern Europe. This is the first time a common platform has been worked out for subsequent concrete action on the part of the parliaments and governments of the countries concerned. The ten-point draft treaty has now been submitted to the leaderships of the parties represented in the North European parliaments.

The project distinctly specifies that the zone should incorporate all of Northern Europe, including Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden. It would likewise extend to the territorial waters of those countries, but nonetheless allow the peaceful passage of warships carrying nuclear weapons. Such ships, would, however, be denied both port entry and passage through "internal waters" such as fjords, creeks and bays. The airspace of the zone's states would also be closed to aircraft with nuclear bombs and missiles on board, which also means that such aircraft would not be allowed to use national airfields. However, special rules to be worked out would allow such aircraft to go through national airspace and touch down in emergencies.



"This is the eighth wonder of the world.
And the last!"

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

For three North European countries—Denmark, Iceland and Norway—the region's nuclear-free status will necessitate their breaking with NATO nuclear strategy. For the signatories to the treaty would commit themselves not to have their national armed forces trained in the use of nuclear weapons, nor to

allow the transshipment of such weapons via their territories, nor the setting up within their national boundaries of installations linked in any way with the use of nuclear weapons. Contrary to their present commitments, these states would have to extend their ban on the presence of atomic military

hardware in any form so that it also obtained in time of war. It would be incumbent upon Denmark and Norway to introduce appropriate amendments to their agreements with the U.S. and NATO on allowing U.S. "backup forces" into their territories in crisis situations.

The draft stresses that the

nuclear powers must pledge not to threaten or undermine the status of the zone or use nuclear arms against targets inside it. It is proposed that recognition of the zone by the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO be formalized by a special agreement. Characteristically, MPs have rejected right-wing demands that Denmark, Iceland and Norway only participate in the denuclearization of Northern Europe given NATO's consent.

In the document circulated, several controversial issues are set out in sufficiently general terms, so as to leave room for further discussion and political manoeuvre. The withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons from the Baltic Sea and the "defusing" of atomic arms in adjacent waters and the territories of other nations is considered desirable. It is believed, however, that these problems will be resolved through negotiations with the nuclear powers and that the negotiations are likely to generate complications in the relations with the U.S. and NATO which are so obstinately clinging to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence in Europe. In practice this implies the saturation with nuclear weapons of the parts of the F.R.G. adjoining Denmark and the seas that wash the shores of Northern Europe. The Soviet Union has no objections against the zone. Moreover, its readiness to take the appropriate steps with respect both to the Baltic Sea and its frontier regions has repeatedly been voiced at the highest level. The U.S.S.R. has already dismantled a large number of medium-range missiles and withdrawn considerable nuclear forces with a smaller radius of operation from the Kola Peninsula and its Baltic area.

The interparliamentary committee paper also provides for the necessary means of verification and the setting up of a special North European mechanism with possible participation of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The document indicates that the

zone being the common concern of the states within the region, its creation presupposes the endorsement of the principles for a nuclear-free Northern Europe by the parliaments of all countries concerned. The zone's opponents will clearly try to use their political positions to frustrate the implementation of the Kekkonen proposal. However, the emergence of a definite platform for a nuclear-free Northern Europe shows that things have got off the ground. If agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe is reached, the movement in the right direction will obviously pick up speed.

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV

AFGHANISTAN

New Year hopes

● ON MARCH 21 AFGHANISTAN CELEBRATED THE MUSLIM NEW YEAR OF 1366. THE KEYNOTE WAS THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

In a Soviet TV interview, Afghan leader Najib said that never before had any of the slogans put forward by the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan met with such wide popular support. More than 400 anti-government formations with a total strength of about 10,000 men have discontinued their armed struggle while many more groupings are currently negotiating reconciliation with the government.

The authorities are helping repatriated Afghans with money, clothing and food. They are afforded many privileges including the deferment of military service. The

returnees are actively participating in public affairs, with their representatives elected to many local emergency commissions for national reconciliation and local bodies of government. The D.R.A. government has invited officials from international agencies concerned with refugee problems to come and see for themselves.

Extremists have tried more than once to torpedo the cease-fire unilaterally an-

which ended in the middle of this month, the talks concentrated on outstanding issues concerning a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, including a timetable for the Soviet troop pullout. Seeking to finalize the talks during this round, the Afghan delegation offered compromises that could bring the positions of the two sides closer together. However, no agreement was reached. Pakistan failed to



Former members of armed groups arriving in Kabul. In the first 70 days since the policy of national reconciliation was announced, 35,000 Afghans returned home.

TASS photo

nounced by the D.R.A. government as of January 15. They attack inhabited areas, enterprises and civilian motor transport columns, in which cases the Afghan army is forced to reply with fire, as the government warned from the outset. Most of these incidents occur in the country's eastern and southeastern provinces near the border with Pakistan, where the military and political situation has always been extremely complex. On the other hand, in the northern, economically better developed provinces, armed anti-government groupings are observing the cease-fire more consistently.

The progress of national reconciliation has objectively paved the way for advance at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva conducted through the mediation of the U.N. Secretary-General's personal representative Diego Cordovez. At their seventh round,

show sufficient flexibility or readiness to compromise, even though, as far as can be judged, the possibility of reaching a final accommodation did exist.

What stood in the way was presumably the pressure the U.S. administration brought to bear on Pakistan both before and during the talks. The leaders of the anti-Afghan congressional lobby bluntly threatened to quash the programme of military and economic aid to Pakistan were it to budge from its previous "tough" stand at the Geneva talks.

Washington's recent decisions to increase this year's aid for the anti-government armed formations to \$630 million as well as supplying them with another 300 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles also show its manifest intention to continue to inflame the tensions around Afghanistan. Hence it appears that, for the time being, it would be unrealistic to ex-

pect any changes in the U.S. stance vis-à-vis Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the long-standing differences on the issue within the Washington administration should be borne in mind. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak of the Washington Post noted recently that neither more nor less than a conflict had erupted between the Pentagon and the State Department as to how to receive Kabul's offer for a national unity coalition government, what sort of timetable for a Soviet pullout from Afghanistan would seem acceptable, and whether it would not be advisable in future to start curtailing U.S. aid to anti-government forces in Afghanistan. Clearly, even in Washington alongside today's triumphant advocates of a "tough line" with respect to Afghanistan, there are also moderates who do not discount the possibility of a political settlement. The future will show whether they will be able to gain the upper hand.

Whatever happens, the progress of national reconciliation in Afghanistan will be decisive.

EVGENY KISELYOV

TURKEY—U.S.A.

A dangerous agreement

● THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED THAT ITS AGREEMENT ON DEFENCE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. IS TO BE PROLONGED TILL DECEMBER 18, 1990.

The relevant bilateral talk dragged on for almost 18 months. All opposition parties were unanimous in opposing the extension of

the agreement. The government came in for vehement criticism in the Turkish parliament for taking the decision.

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the U.S. military presence in Turkey. There are 60 U.S. military installations in the country today, including air force bases and stations for electronic surveillance of the Soviet Union. There are some 5,000 U.S. personnel, as well as American nuclear weapons: currently nuclear warheads are being installed on Honest John missiles, soon to be replaced by Pershings and Lance-2s.

Besides serving as centres for espionage against Turkey's neighbours, U.S. bases there can provide bridgeheads should the U.S. consider undertaking armed intervention in the internal affairs of the Middle East countries. In this connection Turkish officialdom is insistently emphasizing that the bases will be under Turkish command and that their use "outside of NATO's framework" will not be permitted. However, recent years have demonstrated in practice that national control is a mere formality.

What especially troubles the public in Turkey is the fact that during the negotiations to prolong the agreement Ankara made a range of concessions to Washington. Former Defence Minister H. Esat Isik said the other day that the present relationship with the U.S. is "reminiscent of the relationship between officer and subordinate." Former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit qualified the new agreement as "a compromise that increases instability and Turkey's dependence on the United States."

Formerly, U.S. military installations have been fairly frequently involved, directly or indirectly, in Washington's ventures. The Irangate revelations have brought to light evidence of the use of U.S. military bases in Turkey for arms transshipments to Iran. Newsweek, for instance, says it is quite probable that U.S. arms for Iran came from dumps in Turkey.

YURI LEBEDEV

THE ATLANTIC

Brotherhood of the seas

● AFTER THEIR ATLANTIC ODYSSEY, THE CREW OF THE SOVIET FREIGHTER THE KOMSOMOLETS KIRGHIZII HAVE RETURNED HOME.

Stormy seas caused the ship to list heavily and sink some 220 miles off the U.S.A.'s eastern seaboard. However, U.S. coastguard helicopters airlifted the crew to safety.

Skipper Vladimir Khurashov's last entry in the log read: "March 14, 13:45 nautical

was terrible, with the helicopters flying out to the very limit of their range of operations despite the squalls, their pilots did all they could to save the crew. We greatly appreciate their courage and skill, as we stressed three days later when we were received by President Ronald Reagan, who decorated the rescuers. Incidentally, the ceremony, at which we spoke of the need to live in peace, was permeated with that spirit of cooperation which is manifested in a dire emergency. The idea was present in every mind that by working together we could achieve a great deal."

NIKOLAI DOMBKOVSKY

* * *

Besides this report, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of the Merchant Marine sent us a copy of a letter it received recently,



Some members of the crew of the sunken freighter The Komsomolets Kirghizii, on their arrival home. Seen here from left to right are: canteen attendant Tatiana Bulkina, keeper Marina Shatalova, first mate Valentin Kotelnikov, and skipper Vladimir Khurashov.

Photo by E. Zhigailov

time. The third rescue helicopter has taken off the last six members of the crew and I am abandoning ship."

"We are extremely grateful to our American rescuers," first mate Valentin Kotelnikov said. "Though the weather

in which Carson Geoscience Company president Franklin Carson thanked the crew of the M/S Volodarsk of the Baltic Shipping Company for saving two of its fliers crashed in the Caribbean.

F.R.G.

Willy Brandt resigns

● WILLY BRANDT HAS RESIGNED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY (SDP).

On the afternoon of Monday, March 23, the SDP executive met in Bonn to discuss the conflict arising from Willy Brandt's proposal to appoint 30-year-old Margarita Matiopoulos, the daughter of a Greek journalist-cum-diplomat

who has been on a friendly footing with him for some years, as the executive's public relations officer. Though born in Bonn, she is neither an SDP member nor even a citizen of the F.R.G., and Brandt's critics believed that a suitable candidate could be found within the party itself. The differences over this relatively minor organization issue exacerbated the row over Brandt's successor to the chairmanship, and in general, over the party's future policy. Brandt had planned to tender his resignation at the SDP's next convention in 1988.

However, the conflict over the nomination of a public relations officer hastened the outcome. SDP vice-chairman Johannes Rau told newsmen that at the executive's meeting Brandt had said he would resign to end a squabble detrimental to the party's image. The executive agreed

with his proposal to hold an emergency convention next June to elect a leader, and recommended Hans-Jochen Vogel, the present leader of the party's Bundestag faction and one of Brandt's deputies, as the new chairman. Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of the Saar government, has been nominated to fill the vacancy left by Vogel.

Brandt's resignation has demonstrated once again that the crisis that erupted during the final years of the SDP's time in office continues to plague the party. The Schmidt administration's policy of missile "rearmament" and constant concessions to big business evoked widespread resentment among the SDP rank and file and its supporters, as a result of which the SDP-Liberal coalition collapsed in 1982. Recently, under the influence of the peace movement, the SDP has revised

many planks in its platform. However, it has failed to draft a clear strategy. The emergence on the political scene of the Greens who are far more resolute than the Social Democrats in advocating disarmament and environmental protection, has attracted large following among the electorate.

The premature resignation of such a prestigious personality as Willy Brandt, whose image is associated with détente and the F.R.G.'s conclusion of agreements with the socialist countries in the early 1970s, has put the SDP in a quandary. This year it faces simultaneous election ordeals to five of the F.R.G.'s landtags. Internal strife can, of course, only weaken its position.

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

EXPOSE

"Radioactive" squib

The Slovak emigrant magazine *Horizont* hatched—and Austria's newspaper *Kurier* promptly picked up—a story about a leak of radioactive matter from the first Czechoslovak atomic power plant in Jaslovské-Bohunice. In lurid detail the story described the crippling effect of radiation on the local people's health. *Horizont*—and the Austrian *Kurier* after it—"reported" that children with genetic abnormalities were being born in the environs of Jaslovské-Bohunice, and that five patients were still dying daily in the district hospital of "exposure to radiation" as a result of the 1976 accident.

We asked Jiri Beranek, chief state control inspector of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, to comment. Jiri Beranek was involved in negotiations with the Austrian experts to find out how safe the atomic power plants located near the Austrian border were.

"The Jaslovské-Bohunice accident of 1976 did not cause any leakage of radioactive matter," Jiri Beranek said. "It consisted merely of the failure of an

exposure-free fuel element which we, in compliance with international rules, reported to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. All the talk about radiation hazard in the area around the plant is totally unfounded."

"The rumours about children in Jaslovské-Bohunice having been affected by the accident are absurd and malicious," commented Stefan Calpas, chief sanitary inspector of Slovakia. "Just one visit here and a talk with local pediatricians will dispel them. Incidentally, for the *Kurier*'s information: at that time the station used a reactor different from the kind shown in the photograph reproduced from *Horizont* that it carried. We have long abandoned reactors of this type and replaced them with new-generation ones."

Czechoslovakia strictly observes the open doors principle in international relations and admits all interested experts to its atomic power plants. Last September, for instance, the Bohunice

station was inspected by Admiral Lando Zech of the U.S., chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Later he told a press conference at the IAEA's Vienna headquarters that he was favourably impressed with the reliability of Czechoslovak atomic power plants and the high professional standards of the personnel. This view is seconded by our neighbours, Austrian experts who make regular visits to Czechoslovak atomic power plants in order to discuss the shared problems associated with their operation. In a Czechoslovak television interview, Geisler, leader of a delegation of Austrian atomic energy experts, spoke highly of Czechoslovak atomic energy generation safety standards.

It only remains to be regretted that in treating such an important international problem as atomic power plant operation safety, certain foreign media prefer to draw on gutter-press sensationalism rather than the authoritative opinions voiced, amongst others, by Austrian experts.

MARIE KOCVAROVA

Prague



IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Ide Oumarou: SPEND ON DEVELOPMENT, NOT ON ARMAMENT

Ide Oumarou is secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity.

Yes, I believe it is possible to rid the world of nuclear weapons, and I am far from being the only person to think so. Thousands of people the world over are fighting for a denuclearized world. Today, when the quantity of nuclear weapons is steadily increasing, humanity lives under the constant threat of total destruction.

To return to a nuclear-free world, the nuclear powers must do everything in their power. They, and especially the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., must create at least minimum conditions of mutual trust and confidence, hold fruitful talks on the reduction and subsequent destruction of nuclear weapons, devise a mechanism for control, engage in cooperation, and work for the creation of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world.

Today there are several denuclearized zones:

- in Latin America within the framework of the Tlatelolco Treaty;

- in the South Pacific under the Rarotonga Treaty which entered into force not long ago.

Several years ago the assembly of African heads of state and government adopted a declaration of principle on the continent's nuclear-free status. Unfortunately, as far as Africa is concerned, there are very strong fears that the racist regime in South Africa is manufacturing atomic arms.

For all peoples to have the chance to live and develop harmoniously in peace, international stability is vital.

It is difficult to enumerate all the conditions necessary for creating stability, but I would like to emphasize the following points which are, I believe, indispensable:

- Political will on the part of the superpowers and the great powers to negotiate and reach constructive agree-

ments for a reduction in military spending, the limitation and reduction of armaments, and progressive selective disarmament.

- Strict adherence to the principles of equality and sovereignty of all states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and the non-use of force in international relations.

Shafic Jorge Handal: A WEAPON-FREE THIRD MILLENNIUM

Shafic Jorge Handal is general secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador and a member of the general command of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

It is not only a nuclear-free world that is possible. The world can exist without conventional armaments too. This is a long-cherished dream of humanity. Despite the threat of nuclear war, which has become so serious due to the Reagan administration's aggressive policy, humanity nevertheless feels that the possibility of disarmament is approaching not only with regard to nuclear weapons, but to conventional weapons as well. With that prospect, that hope, that possibility we move towards the third millennium.

As for international stability, it must rest on mutual respect and cooperation, respect for every nation's right to shape its destiny as it thinks fit. It must also rest on economic and political relations of a new type, capable of ensuring development, freedom, independence and democracy for all the peoples of the world.

However, the imperialist forces of the

- The elimination of regional conflicts that could lead to intervention by the great powers.

- The creation of conditions for the economic development of all states. Poverty, hunger and misery serve to generate instability. Reductions in military spending would make it possible to invest resources in satisfying essential human needs. Today humanity spends some \$1,000 billion a year on arms, while Africa is in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis and its external debt is of the order of \$170 billion.

- And, finally, the restoration of mutual confidence between states and promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

U.S. are doing everything to upset this stability. Washington is trying to torpedo every initiative that could prove conducive to a peaceful international situation. One such trend is to exacerbate regional conflicts. Central America is an apposite example. U.S. imperialism is trying to stifle the revolution in Nicaragua, quash the revolutionary movement in El Salvador, and fortify its military springboard in Honduras. However, U.S. plans to destroy the Sandinist revolution and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front are falling through. Under the blows of NLF detachments, the pro-U.S. regime in El Salvador is tottering. These detachments are stepping up their strikes against crack U.S.-trained government battalions. The victory of our people will spell a further defeat for U.S. imperialism. It will contribute to the attainment of stability in Central America.

Anglo-Soviet Relations: The British view

GEOFFREY HOWE, Secretary of State
for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

I am grateful to New Times for its initiative in inviting me to offer some thoughts to its readers on the eve of the visit to Moscow by the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher. It can do nothing but good for the people of each of our two countries to speak through the columns of the press to the people of the other. Indeed I hope this will happen more frequently.

I am conscious of the long stream of history that links our two proud countries in war and peace. In war through the Arctic convoys in which Britain provided 5,000 tanks and 7,000 aircraft to help Soviet soldiers in the last great war. In peace through trade—growing now, I am glad to say—and through shared interest in the culture of Shakespeare and Shaw, Tolstoy and Pushkin (the 150th anniversary of whose death this year was marked in Britain as well as the Soviet Union).

Mrs Thatcher's visit to the Soviet Union, which begins on 28 March, will add a further strand to the tapestry of our contacts. Such visits have been rare—the last official visit by a British Prime Minister was in 1975—and present opportunities which must not be missed. What do we expect from this one?

I hope for three things:

— To strengthen our dialogue with the Soviet leadership. Mrs Thatcher's discussions with Mr Gorbachev in London in December 1984 and in Moscow in March 1985, and my own meetings with Mr Shevardnadze, have provided a good foundation to build on.

— Through that, to seek understanding and where possible agreement on the vital arms control, regional and humanitarian questions of today.

— To understand better the interesting changes taking place in the Soviet Union—in particular the meaning of "restructuring," and its impact on foreign policy.

— On this basis to advance our bilateral cooperation into new areas, and make it easier for our peoples (especially the young) to make contact; and easier for them to learn about each other's country.

Bilateral Relations

We start from a good base. Since 1984 the rhythm of contacts between Britain and the Soviet Union has increased. Highlights were the visit to Moscow last May of a parliamentary delegation led by Lord Whitelaw, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Mr Shevardnadze's visit to Britain last July. On that occasion we signed agreements on the prevention of incidents at sea, on the settlement of long-standing claims, and on long-term economic and industrial cooperation. We have also strengthened our cooperation in the fields of agriculture and energy, in ways which should produce real economic benefits for both our countries. They should be felt, for instance, in higher yields of grain as a result of the work on farms managed by the British company ICI in the Soviet Union.

Timely Opportunity

This visit is an important opportunity to continue discussions with the Soviet leadership, at an important time in international affairs. Britain has been following attentively the changes under way in the Soviet Union. Our people want to understand Mr Gorbachev's objectives and policies better. At the same time, the Prime Minister's visit will be a chance to explore how our two countries can enhance international security, peace and prosperity. Britain has its own independent views to put forward from its position as a member of the North Atlantic alliance, an important European power, a nuclear

weapon state with the responsibilities that go with that status.

Working for Arms Control

The British government is resolutely committed to working for balanced and verifiable measures of arms control and disarmament. Our objective is to keep Europe stable and secure, at lower levels of armaments. We play our full part in the negotiations at Geneva and Vienna, in close consultation with our NATO allies. All of us, East and West, have an interest in enhanced security with fewer weapons and less cost.

That is why we have welcomed the Soviet recognition, in Mr Gorbachev's statement of 28 February, that an INF agreement can and should be reached, separately from agreements on strategic arms or defensive systems. Linkage of one to the other was unhelpful. We believe in making progress step by step wherever it is possible. We hope that the Soviet negotiators in Geneva will work with determination and flexibility to achieve an early INF agreement.

Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan agreed at Camp David last November a practical and realistic three-point action programme for arms reductions, which was endorsed by all the NATO countries in December:

— An agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) with constraints on shorter-range systems.

— 50 per cent reduction over five years in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive weapons.

— A worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

In each case, as your government also recognizes, effective verification is essential.

In the case of INF we are glad that the Soviet Union has accepted NATO's idea of eliminating longer range INF in Europe. An agreement must also incorporate constraints on certain Soviet shorter-range missiles which could circumvent such an agreement, and a U.S. right to match such systems. The problem of the Soviet superiority in these and other shorter-range INF should be addressed in follow-on negotiations.

Discussions are also needed on how to eliminate the East's superiority in conventional arms, which becomes more important as nuclear weapons are reduced. With our allies, Britain pre-posed in December—in the Brussels declaration—negotiations both on the levels of NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces in Europe and on further con-

fidence and security-building measures, reinforcing the Stockholm agreement. Initial discussions have begun in Vienna. At the same time, we want a substantial, and not merely symbolic, outcome to the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR).

Concern over Afghanistan

Arms control is not the only important issue in relations between East and West. We need to remove regional sources of tension. Top of the list is the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan with a total troop strength of more than 100,000 men. This has severely damaged confidence between East and West. A year ago Mr Gorbachev described Afghanistan as a "bleeding wound": he has spoken repeatedly of the Soviet Union's wish to withdraw its troops and desire for a political settlement. What is needed now is action. Year after year, by overwhelming majorities, the international community has called for the withdrawal of all Soviet forces, and for Afghanistan to resume its place as an independent and non-aligned nation. We ask the Soviet leadership now to show the statesmanship needed to solve this tragic problem.

We need to work at the business of understanding each other's societies, culture and policies—understanding at all levels. That is why we welcome

steps such as the publication of this article, and the Soviet government's recent decision to stop jamming the BBC Russian service. We would like to see more exchange of information about each other's country through television, radio, newspapers and publications. For example, although Pravda and New Times are freely available in Britain, British newspapers cannot be freely bought in the U.S.S.R. Best of all is for more people to be able to come and see for themselves. Tolerance of different points of view is one of the hallmarks of a mature and self-confident society.

The Vienna follow-up meeting of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe has been re-examining how the 35 participating states have lived up to their commitments under the 1975 Helsinki Final Act: commitments relating to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, to freedom of movement and contact between people, to family reunification, free dissemination of information and many others. It is no secret that we and our Western partners believe that there is a long way to go before the Soviet Union and some other countries can be said to comply fully with those commitments. We welcome the progress that has been made—in the moves towards greater openness, and the release of some prisoners of conscience. We hope to see further moves in the direction of Mr Gorba-

chev's aim of "free labour and free thought in a free country." Above all we want to see the CSCE Vienna meeting produce results of tangible benefit to the peoples affected by the CSCE process.

Economic Cooperation

Last but not least, we want to see economic cooperation between Britain and the Soviet Union developed and the objective of a 40-50 per cent growth in U.K.-Soviet trade, which Mr Gorbachev identified in December 1984, achieved. During her visit, Mrs Thatcher will be opening the new Moscow office of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. British companies are ready to do business with the Soviet Union. We hope that the changes in the Soviet foreign trade system will help them to do so.

Our Vision

We hope that Mrs Thatcher's visit will be a contribution to creating a relationship of greater confidence and trust between East and West, and thus securing a safer and better future for our children and grandchildren. A future of peace with fewer weapons, of greater trade and economic cooperation, of increased cultural and information exchanges and contacts between ordinary people. In short, a future in which East and West, the Soviet Union and Britain, no longer feel threatened by each other but cooperate to solve common problems. ■

In our view...

GENNADY GERASIMOV

Moscow is preparing to receive the British Prime Minister with due respect and traditional cordiality.

The coming visit to the Soviet Union of the head of the British government will be the first of its kind in 12 years. We regard it as a good opportunity to raise our relations, our political dialogue and our cooperation on international problems to a higher level. We associate with this visit our hopes for some substantial progress in this particular aspect of our cooperation, the basic contours of which were delineated during the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and the British Prime Minister in December 1984.

The strengthening of the dialogue with a view to mutual understanding, of which Howe speaks, is also our objective. And we cannot but welcome

the desire to "understand better the interesting changes taking place in the Soviet Union." The more so since this could have practical consequences in the form of wider cooperation, more contacts and getting to know one another better.

Moscow is well aware of the importance of a dialogue between the leaders of our two countries, central to which is the entire complex of the most burning issues of our time. Among these the closest attention and urgent energetic effort must be devoted to preventing the arms race from being carried over into outer space, substantially scaling down the strategic nuclear confrontation and working to rid Europe of nuclear weapons. Thus, the coming visit goes beyond purely bilateral relations. Regrettably, in his

article Mr Howe does not express his attitude to the issue of the arms race in outer space.

It will undoubtedly be interesting to hear Mrs Thatcher's arguments against the idea of a nuclear-free world. This idea, as we know, is supported individually by the U.S. President and by the Soviet leader—so to say, independently of each other. At the same time, it was supported jointly by them at the summit meeting in Reykjavik. Regrettably the highly important subject of a nuclear-free world and also a nuclear-free Europe is not mentioned in Howe's article. Incidentally, I have been informed that New Times had—unsuccessfully—asked him to share his views on the possibility of a nuclear-free world, as many others approached by the journal in its international opinion poll have done.

As regards the subject of medium-range missiles, the British press has said that during her visit to Moscow Mrs Thatcher intends to "untie" the Reykjavik "package" and separate from it the question of eliminating the medium-range missiles in Europe. The political solution advanced by the Soviet side

has anticipated Mrs Thatcher here. But judging again by the British press, Mrs Thatcher is now expected to "tie up" another "package," by linking the elimination of intermediate-range missiles with Soviet short-range missiles and conventional arms.

Howe maintains that the Soviet Union has "superiority" in both. This is highly debatable. In the matter of missiles, to obtain a full picture it is necessary to take into account what the West possesses in comparable areas. When it comes to analogous armaments, the arithmetical balance of specific types of weapons might be in favour of one side or the other, but taken as a whole there is no obvious superiority of the East over the West in Europe. For example, the compilers of the latest London International Institute for Strategic Studies yearbook on the military balance in Europe conclude that neither side could at present launch a successful offensive in Europe. Is this not enough to warrant the conclusion that an attack on the West by the East is out of the question?

The British Minister's hope "that the Soviet negotiators in Geneva will work with determination and flexibility to achieve an early agreement" on intermediate-range nuclear forces is rather touching. He need have no doubt on that score. It is strange, however, that he did not express similar hopes with regard to U.S. negotiators.

As regards the Afghanistan situation, without entering into polemics about propaganda stereotypes hardly becoming in an article by a politician, I would like first to cite fully and accurately an important statement referred to by Howe. What Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th Congress of the CPSU was this: "The counterrevolutionary forces and imperialism have turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound." Moreover, this is still the case. The West's reply to the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by Kabul has been to step up military and other aid to the counterrevolutionary forces. In practical terms this is a policy of sabotage of the national reconciliation programme, and of course it affects also the situation as regards the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its limited contingent within an agreed brief space of time, provided foreign interference is terminated.

I do not know whether the problem of human rights in Britain will be discussed at the coming meeting in Moscow. As we understand these rights, they include the right to work (at the end of 1986 the official number of unemployed in Britain was 3.2 million) and the right to housing (there are 93,900 homeless families in Britain). The situation in Northern Ireland, too, does not strike us as a model of observance

of human rights. It seems to me, therefore, that Howe had scant grounds for remarking in a tutorial tone that we "have a long way to go." From the standpoint of the basic and elementary rights to work and housing, it is surely Britain that has "a long way to go." As for the Vienna follow-up to the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, the Soviet side, too, wants it to be productive.

It seems to me that Howe's approach to the problems of the free flow of information and freedom of movement is the ritual and traditional one of registering another rebuke to the Soviet Union. It would be far more useful to make a comparative analysis of who is better informed about the life of the other—Soviet people about the life of the British people or the British—about the life of Soviet people. And proceeding from the results of that analysis, and not from the possibility of subscribing to *The Times*, to discuss measures to improve mutual understanding.

The other day a film entitled "The Fourth Protocol" was released on the British screen. The premiere was attended by the Prime Minister. To what extent this film about Soviet espionage against nuclear installations in Britain contributes to mutual understanding is not clear. What is clear is how greatly it misinforms the British public about real Soviet intentions. Here is what a British reviewer in the *Guardian* wrote on this score: "Watching 'The Fourth Protocol' is like spending two hours in a time-wrap. To hell with glasnost and the rest of it. Here we are well and truly back in the sterile fixation of the Iron Curtain era. The whole film reeks of the cinematic convention of the time when we all knew the Ruskies were after us, confirming our worst suspicions."

Free flow of information must be combined with a sense of responsibility.

As for freedom of movement, this writer was refused a British entry visa without any explanation, although I had been invited by British peace supporters. Under the Nationality Act, Asians do not have the right freely to enter Britain for permanent residence. At the present time 21,000 people from India and Bangladesh are awaiting permission to enter Britain to join relatives.

More examples could be cited, but the sole purpose of those I have cited is to underscore the groundlessness of the mentor-like tone adopted by the esteemed British Minister.

Mrs Thatcher's visit is welcomed in Moscow as an opportunity to raise our dialogue to the serious political plane that would make it a substantial contribution to improving relations between our countries and East-West relations in general.

France played a memorable role at the time of the stormy polemic over the deployment of American missiles in Europe. Citing the need to restore the balance, the French President spoke out resolutely in favour of the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe to counter the Soviet SS-20s.

The French Communist Party is determined to do everything in its power to bring about an end to the arms race, while preserving the country's security and independence. Its statements and its latest proposals following the failure of the Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles are aimed at bringing all European countries into the negotiations.

One might have welcomed the advance made in Reykjavik towards the total withdrawal of Pershing, cruise and SS-20 missiles from Europe. Unfortunately, this has not been the official French position. The Foreign Minister, speaking in the National Assembly several days after the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, described the prospect of the total disappearance of American nuclear weapons from Europe as "dangerous."

Several weeks later François Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher jointly expressed the same position. Jacques Chirac went even further in his speech before the Assembly of the Western European Union and Raymond Barre reaffirmed this attitude. Essentially France reacted in silence to the preparation for the meeting in Iceland. France, like Britain, backed its American ally by signing the Tokyo Declaration of the Seven in May 1986, which read in part: "We appreciate the United States' negotiating efforts and call on the Soviet Union also to negotiate positively."

The French position cannot be understood simply as one of political alignment with the United States. Things are far more serious and profound. In February 1984, on a visit to The Hague, the French President declared: "The field for action remains vast, but it will enable us to ensure our security (in Europe) not only with the help of conventional armaments, but also with new means which are about to appear on the global scene. Already we should look beyond nuclear energy if we are not to fall behind in a far nearer future than we believe. Let me cite one example: the conquest of space. Let Europe demonstrate its capacity to orbit a manned space station which would permit it to detect any possible threat, report it, and so contain it. It will thereby have made a major step towards its own defence, not to mention achievements in the field of

Hope born at Reykjavik

Disarmament, which seemed utopian until recently, could have become a reality at the Reykjavik summit. Each one of us can now appreciate what should be done so that our hopes are realized. Thus says MAXIME GREMETZ, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the French Communist Party, in his book "Yet It Moves!" excerpts from which we publish below. In this book Maxime Gremetz shares his ideas about various aspects of disarmament, and describes the stand taken by the French government and the French Communist Party on this issue.

electronics and artificial memory and the available knowledge on how to launch projectiles travelling at the speed of light. To my mind, the creation of a European space community would be the best response to the military realities of tomorrow."

In the same speech to the Netherlands Parliament the President said that thought should be given to "replacing nuclear deterrence." In February 1985 in a speech in Rennes he stated unambiguously that France was proposing "a European space initiative," which, in his opinion, "would change all aspects of world strategy, including nuclear strategy, in the next 30 years." If Europe refuses, "France will go it alone."

The republic's President and the Prime Minister expressed certain reservations over the SDI project. But they gave French companies the green light to take part in it. And three of them have lost no time in doing so. In effect there is a consensus on participation in the militarization of space. Thus, at a time when humanity is at a turning point in history, when for the first time real possibilities exist of reaching real and verifiable arms control agreements and preventing the spread of arms to outer space, France is again throwing its weight on the wrong side of the scales. Unfortunately, this attitude has been confirmed by France's refusal to discuss a universal nuclear test ban.

A close examination of our experience in using nuclear energy, including its potential utilization in SDI, shows that we have reached the limit.

As for nuclear weapons, atomic or hydrogen charges delivered by strategic missiles or Pershing 2 or SS-20 missiles, there is no further need for testing. The accuracy can be improved (it is within 10 metres today) and MIRV warheads can be improved: the quest for "quality" continues, without any need for tests.

In August 1985, the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, the Soviet Union proclaimed a one-year unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. It subsequently extended it to December 31, 1986 [until January 1, 1987—Ed.]. This was an important political move. The Soviet Union declared that it would observe the moratorium beyond that date as long as the United States refrained from new tests. An international agreement to end nuclear tests will only be possible provided there are no new departures which could take two possible forms:

- the introduction of nuclear energy in battlefield weapons. Work is under way on "miniaturization," to which end experiments are being conducted, for example, to create what is known as the "neutron bomb." It is a question not of improvement, but of a radical change in the conception of the use of nuclear weapons—no longer as a deterrent to be brandished and not used but as a weapon on the battlefield "like any other," with all the grave consequences that this implies;

- another area in which nuclear tests would be "indispensable" is research on and improvements in means

of detection, interception and destruction in space, that is, the militarization of space.

All this helps us understand why ending nuclear tests has gradually come to be a matter of increasing concern for the peoples of the world and many governments. It is, by the same token, a more effective measure of the special responsibility of our people in view of the position of our country's leaders.

The responsibility is all the greater because the present period is witnessing sustained and profound actions for peace. This is borne out by increasingly big demonstrations taking place in many countries and the endless stream of initiatives and declarations.

Some important ideas have won the minds of the majority worldwide:

- military escalation which could aggravate insecurity must be stopped;
- arsenals, especially nuclear, must be cut;
- nuclear tests must be stopped and the militarization of space renounced;
- the gigantic sums thus released could be put to far better use in improving the quality of life. This is becoming urgent.

The analysis of the causes of the race towards death, and the question of apportioning responsibility for it has become an issue which could pose problems in mobilizing peace supporters. In spite of this the struggle for peace has acquired a permanent character. One of the merits of the Reykjavik summit was that it would seem to have clarified the questions under discussion and made each one of us face up to his responsibility.

From now on the question of peace and disarmament confronts each one of us in terms of the struggle for our own survival and that of our planet.

The issue today defines itself as follows: we must all mobilize to ensure that humanity rejects the arms race and engages at long last in the race for life and progress, and the well-being of all people.

Can SDI render the nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete"? Will it be "insurance against a madman"? The author of the following article gives a negative answer to these questions. He considers the problem from an unusual angle.

The "madman" and the bomb

IGOR KUZNETSOV

Today you do not have to build a ballistic missile or a strategic bomber to deliver a nuclear weapon to target. Improvements in nuclear weapons have greatly reduced the size of nuclear warheads. Relatively simple nuclear shells with a yield of several kilotons capable of being fired from 155-mm howitzers have been in existence for decades. In the U.S., for instance, the Space Research Corporation manufactures howitzers for 3-kiloton nuclear or neutron charges.

U.S. troops stationed in Western Europe have backpack nuclear mines, such as the one-kiloton Echo or the 300-ton Delta. Such a projectile or mine can be transported along with other cargoes or carried on the march. This ensures secrecy of delivery, and the smaller and lighter the weapon, the more difficult it is to detect. The radioactive emission by parts of the charge is easy to screen. Such nuclear weapons cannot be detected by Geiger counters. If such a warhead is planted in a nuclear power station the consequences are too terrible to contemplate. Can such an eventuality be prevented? This question was put to the U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC) by Senators Nunn and Warner, who are studying the possibility of setting up a Soviet-American centre to diminish the danger of accidental nuclear war. A SAC study commissioned by them points out that there are nine potential means (methods) of delivering nuclear weapons "by third parties" (including terrorist groups). Neither space-based, laser, or aerial ABM facilities as en-

visaged by SDI would be effective in intercepting or neutralizing these means of delivery.

Indeed, it is hard to imagine what a hypothetical SDI system could do to prevent a "third party" or terrorist group from smuggling a nuclear charge (a one-kiloton tactical nuclear warhead weighs just 27 kilograms) into U.S. territory. Let us consider one possible method of delivery.

An estimated million braceros illegally cross the Mexican border into the U.S. yearly in search of jobs. It would be easy for a terrorist with a nuclear charge in his backpack to mingle with them, and nothing could prevent a terrorist or "third party" from carrying a nuclear charge or bringing it into port in a boat and staging a latter-day Pearl Harbour by destroying all the ships there. Another possibility is that a chemical plant would be selected as a target, resulting in an American Bhopal.

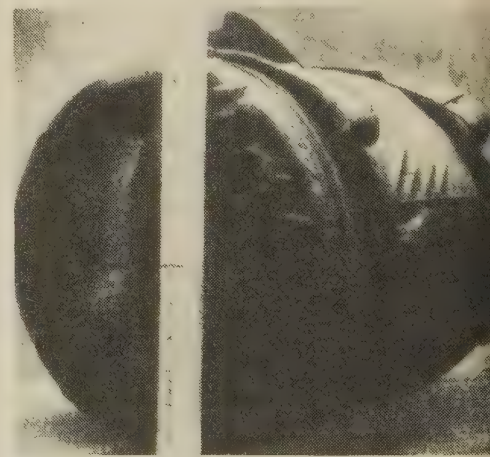
SDI, which the U.S. President hopes will render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete," will fail to ensure the safety not only of America, but even of the President and the government. Pedestrians, tourists and demonstrators with all manner of posters are constantly near the White House and Capitol Hill. Should a terrorist with a nuclear mini-warhead appear in their midst, the chances are that the biggest gold store in the world—the Federal Reserve Bank of New York—would not be enough to pay ransom for the hostages, the President or his Congress.

Racketeering is part of the American way of life. What is the point of waiting till the mafia gets the chance to engage in the nuclear racket?

The mafia manages to smuggle tons of narcotics into the United States. It is not hard to imagine that a nuclear charge weighing 140 kilograms could be delivered to America. A cruise missile nuclear warhead of that weight has a yield of 225 kilotons, which is about 15 times more than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Nor would SDI be a hindrance to a "madman" who took it into his head to get hold of a nuclear bomb.

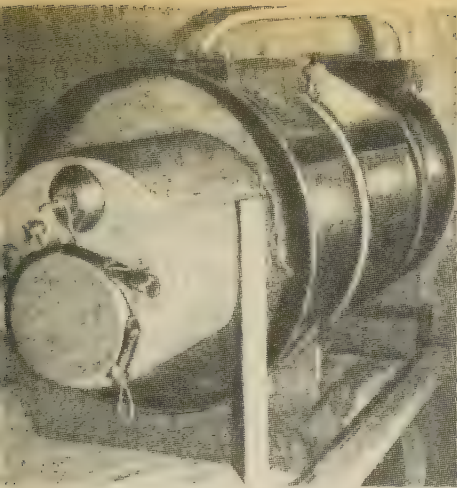
Today the nuclear bomb is not a secret. Its design is relatively simple and can be found in generally available literature. The main difficulty is obtaining enriched uranium, the basic ingredient of the nuclear weapon. Its manufacture requires large production capacity and sophisticated technology. But this is not an insuperable obstacle either. Cases of uranium being stolen have been registered in France, Britain and the F.R.G. In the U.S. 342 kilograms of highly concentrated uranium have disappeared from the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation



A miniature nuclear bomb in a 13-inch knapsack.

plant in Apollo over the last 20 years. That amount is enough to manufacture 38 Hiroshima-type atomic bombs.

Journalist Patrick Berthreu and retired atomic engineer Sten Ericsson describe how to buy fissionable materials in a recent book published in France under the title "I Bought a Nuclear



The average nuclear mine is only slightly larger. Will SDI prevent their use!

Photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Bomb: Why Not Them? ("them" meaning terrorists). Posing as a merchant representing the interests of a Third World country, Patrick Berthieu contacted arms dealers. As a result, he managed to sign a contract with nuclear business representatives for the purchase or sale of 19.7 kg of military-quality enriched uranium. That would have been sufficient to make a nuclear bomb.

Some interesting data on the atomic weapon black market have been collected by West German journalist Karl Günther Barth, who posed as manager and owner of the imaginary firm IVI Consulting and Management. According to Barth, in April 1981, 40 containers with nuclear fuel costing \$3.5 million each were "mysteriously" moved from the American firm Westinghouse to the Middle East. In September 1981 Jürgen Müller of the F.R.G. offered anyone in the Middle East who wanted it, "6-8 kilograms" of 70 per cent enriched uranium.

Barth's firm received many intriguing offers. Here is one of them: "We can offer six ready-to-use 4,550×650-mm, 420-kg, 60-kiloton atomic bombs."

According to Francis Perrin, former supreme commissar of France for atomic energy, French technology for building an atomic bomb was secretly transferred to Israel in the fifties.

In 1945 the U.S. had a monopoly of nuclear weapons. Today five states are officially recognized as possessing nuclear arms. With constant progress in science and technology and continuing opportunities for the "transfer," "leakage" and sale of nuclear weapons and the technology for their manufac-

ture, few politicians would venture to give the number of states—12, 15 or 20—which will have joined the nuclear club by the time SDI (now still in the research and testing stage) becomes operational.

According to Lev Feoktistov, Deputy Director of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, the most promising area of nuclear power development is associated with fast neutron reactors, which breed plutonium 239. Plutonium 239 is not only a fuel for reactors, but the basis for nuclear weapons. A world power industry developed on this basis would put hundreds of tons of plutonium into international circulation. Meanwhile, 4.7 kilograms of plutonium 239 is enough to build a nuclear warhead. One can easily imagine what unlimited prospects this would open up for the escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Scientists believe it is possible, in principle, to build nuclear warheads from isotopes of transuranium elements that are heavier than plutonium. Some of them have the capacity for spontaneous fission and a very low critical mass. Thus, an isotope of americium has a critical mass of 80 grams. This means that a ball with this critical mass will have a diameter of 2.2 cm. Such a nuclear charge with a yield of about one kiloton will be the size of an ordinary thermos flask. The critical mass of heavy transuranium elements is even smaller. An isotope of californium has a critical mass of under two grams. It may be possible to build a nuclear charge the size of a pen with a yield of tens of tons. Such a charge placed among other (nonmetal) loads can be detected by a gauge designed to spot metals only at very close range. Another way to detect it is to X-ray cargoes. But the enormous technical problems this involves would make reliable detection virtually impossible, says G. Poppei, professor at the Wismar Higher Engineering School.

The manufacture, storage and preparation of miniature nuclear charges cannot be detected by existing remote control methods or any that are likely to be developed in the future.

To sum up then. Arguments that SDI would ensure against a "madman" who set out to blackmail the U.S. with a nuclear weapon do not hold water. It is those who want to squander a trillion dollars on a "Maginot line" in space who are mad.

But there is method in this madness. For it serves the interests of the military-industrial complex. Genuine security can be ensured not by SDI, but by the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the planet.

IN RETROSPECT

I call on the scientific community to create for us the means of rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

Defensive systems... raise certain problems and ambiguities. If paired with offensive systems, they can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy.

President Ronald Reagan
of the U.S.
March 23, 1983

As they rummaged in their memories, President Reagan and his friends recalled the blessed years when the U.S. had the bomb and no one else did. The ideological and political campaign in connection with "star wars" is the product of their disappointment over the current situation and their recollections of the "good old days."

E.P. Thompson,
Vice-President, Committee
on Nuclear Disarmament (U.S.A.)

The tale of SDI being intended to help eliminate nuclear weapons on earth has been thought up for U.S. domestic consumption so as to deal a blow to the anti-war movement and to compel it to accept SDI.

Edward Teller,
physicist (U.S.A.)

We don't need a huge multimillion-dollar weapons system. We need more of what they were trying to do at Reykjavik.

David Roper,
physics professor (U.S.A.)

SDI combines an act of psychological warfare against the Soviet Union, a diplomatic stunt supposed to impress the allies, a voluntaristic act of industrial policy, a home policy manoeuvre, and a position on military (but not necessarily strategic) matters.

Gilles Polycarpe,
engineer (France)

Adopting the broad interpretation [of the ABM Treaty — Ed.] would provoke a constitutional crisis of profound dimensions.... Such a decision would very likely be taken on Capitol Hill as the end of arms control....

Sam Nunn,
Senator [Dem.], chairman
of the Senate Armed Services
Committee

From thinking to acting in a new way

Several West German scientists and public figures, including among others the economists Jörg Huffschild, Gerhard Kade and Rudolf Hickel, and the lawyers Helmut Ridder and Gerhard Stuby, who are involved in the publication of the popular West German magazine on social and political affairs, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, have sent Mikhail Gorbachev the following open letter:

Dear Mr Gorbachev,

Your impassioned calls for democracy and peace and peace and democracy have deeply impressed us and many of our compatriots. The determination with which in your latest speeches you have stressed the interconnection between extensive democratization and economic restructuring reaffirms at once the full seriousness of your peace bids and your quest for a way out of the dangerous situation. The interdependence of the renewal at home and the maintenance of security and peace among states is perfectly clear.

Awareness of this has convinced us too that there is only one way out of the present situation in the world, which is advancing towards its death by virtue of the insensate runaway arms race (the sophistication of technology is boundless), and the concomitantly reckless squandering of limited resources, the impoverishment of entire continents, and even the use for selfish ends of assets that

belong to future generations. This only way is "thinking" in a new way, which is beginning to be translated into action in a new way.

So far the only purpose of foreign policy has been to implement or prevent changes in the world, in accordance with one's conception of one's own values, aims and interests. Although it has been said more than once that today paramount importance attaches to the issue of saving the world, in most cases this has been empty, futile talk, deriving from inordinately inflated ideas of one's own values and a resulting chronic incapacity to check the further growth of the potentials that imperil the world or to cease to inflate the image of an enemy that would justify this growth. The process of modernization and democratization that you have announced and initiated has provided the world with a model of how to overcome difficulties at home in a way that is beneficial to international détente and expedites democratization in all

countries, regardless of their socio-political systems.

We see the support many public forces in the West are giving to the demand that similar signals and impulses of the new thinking should also be forthcoming from our capitals. We citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany, who advocate peace, disarmament, and an economic policy that serves human interests and accords a paramount role to ecological and social responsibility, are aware of the organic link between peace and democracy. We cannot be indifferent to the outcome of the course you have embarked upon. The fate of humanity in large measure depends on the course taken by the great power, that is, the Soviet Union and on the repercussions of its policy.

We condemn the insincerity of politicians who have long been demanding vociferously that the reforms you have initiated be implemented, but who have counted secretly on their failure, as only in that event can they still preserve the image of internal and ex-

ternal enemies they have created and thereby justify their aggressive foreign and repressive domestic policies.

We expect of our own government that, in response to the new Soviet policy, it will not confine itself to mere lip service, but take the appropriate constructive moves, objectively assessing the Germans' historic responsibility for the preservation of peace in Europe and the world. The latest Soviet initiative to eliminate medium-range missiles offers our continent a historic chance and this time we have no right to let it slip. In our attitude to the "East" we must abandon the stance of mistrust and hostility that has become second nature to us. It only brought misfortune for our peoples. A consistent policy of mutual understanding and cooperation accords with the aspirations of the citizens of the F.R.G. and of all men and women in Europe and throughout the world.

With friendly greetings,

**The publishers and editors
of *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik***

Tenacity and responsibility

Dear Mr Gorbachev,

Since you came into office, we have been deeply impressed by your many initiatives for disarmament, and by the tenacity with which you have held to them. Even when the government of the United States and some of its clients have behaved ex-

tremely unreasonably, you have remained firm.

Now you have ended the exile of Dr Sakharov, in an action which, in its generosity and compassion, deserves our most heartfelt thanks.

All of us would wish that some Western leaders could

show a comparable humanity to your own, and that the Western media might report your deeds with greater objectivity. We do not think the course which you have chosen is at all an easy one, vitally necessary though it is for all of us.

We are aware of many

intractable crises. If we face them with greater hope than was earlier possible, this is in very large measure due to your good actions.

With all our respect and good wishes,

**KEN COATES
the Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation
Matlock, Britain**

Admission at Willard Hotel

or how openness put Mr Wick into a blue funk

Admission is the king of proofs, goes the judicial maxim. We have long suspected that U.S. politics, especially since the inimicable Ronnie came on the scene, smacks of show business; that the art of televised seduction passes for wise statesmanship; that thanks to the TV screen, the semblance often becomes the substance, and vice versa; that democracy with its right of choice and its one-man-one-vote principle is becoming an illusion in God's own country, while publicity is increasingly crowding serious politics out. These conjectures have now gained an authoritative confirmation from USIA director Charles Wick. Nobody extorted his admission. It was voluntarily and frankly offered to friends and fellow thinkers.

The place was the Willard Hotel in Washington, where the Spring Government Affairs Conference of the American Advertising Federation was in session. On the rostrum was the director of USIA, the official advertising agency of the U.S.

"We share an interest in communications... because all of us here are involved one way or another in a dramatic trend in international relations, the ever-widening influence of advertising and public relations in world affairs," he pontificated.

"Thus, the alliance between advertising and international politics is close. But it is not new."

"In my business—'public diplomacy'—we also market a product—the values and ideas of the free world itself."

Remarkable revelations. However, there was more to come. There is nothing at all novel in the point made that "the values and ideas of the free world" are marketed like any commodity by high-pressure sales talk, soap operas and the mass advertising of simplified images remote from reality. What is novel is the emotional side. Mr Wick is palpably worried. Why? Says he:

"General Secretary Gorbachev's ascent to power has encouraged a new and more dynamic leadership. Moscow is marketing a new image of openness to the world. They call this product 'glasnost.' But 'glasnost' is more than a product. It is public relations campaign. The Soviets are trying to win the war of symbols. If they win they will have won the war of public diplomacy."

Let us not pick on the words, the more so as they are more a reflection of a mentality. Let us rather follow the dizzying parabola described by this alarmed mentality.

"And what would we lose?" Mr Wick continued. "Most dramatically, we could lose our security." "In the longer term, if we lose the 'war of ideas' we could jeopardize the very soul of the free world, its life today and its

promise for security tomorrow."

Some comparison!

Mr Wick fears the U.S. and the West generally will lose in the ideological struggle. That admission is worth much. The reason why Reagan's America upholds the idea of building up weapons must be that deep down it dreads the weapons of ideas.

At the Willard Hotel, Mr Wick sought to identify himself with ordinary admen and, for a while, that was easy, but only to a point. Vendors of commercial commodities sometimes try to sell hot air; the vendor of the political commodity sooner or later sells fear. It is not enough for USIA and U.S. politics in general to vend Americanism. They must also peddle anti-Sovietism. Why should the ideas of the "free world" be necessarily packaged in fear of a different system? Evidently because what the reactionary Western ideologues and propagandists advertise is not so much the ideas of their civilization, which would not be reprehensible in itself, as a divided world, confrontation, militarism, the arms race, and sundry other "colonial" or, rather, great-power products.

With rare candour Mr Wick continues to lay bare the inner fears of his circle:

"They are selling an image of 'glasnost' and progress towards a better world. They have captured the attention of people the world over, particularly in the front lines of the East-West conflict. Reflect for a moment. How do you react to the following:

"— the release of Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Scharansky and other political prisoners;

"— the decoupling of SDI from the INF arms control talks in Geneva;

"— the disclosure by the Soviet press of disasters such as Chernobyl, shipwrecks, the sinking of their nuclear submarine, and even Soviet domestic unrest;

"— a greater willingness to

court Western culture, including joint ventures.

"This marketing effort has been targeted to the peoples of the world."

What perfidy! Mr Wick qualifies this as a threat and urges Americans to "face up" to it.

Certainly, an amazing confession from a professional ideological warrior. It didn't worry him when Sakharov was in Gorky and the others in places still further away, when the Soviet press shyly turned away from awkward events, when there was more red tape and less room for creative initiative in politics and the economy. Of course, then it was easier for the Voice of America and other propaganda institutions subordinate to Mr Wick to shed hot crocodile tear over the "persecution of dissidents" in the Soviet Union, over the odd silence in the media on matters of concern to people, over the hidebound economy. The worse we have it the better for the West—such is Mr Wick's reasoning. Then it is easy for him to caricature socialism, and picture the Soviet Union as a society devoid of democracy, opposed to it, even. Conversely, the better we have it, the more ill at ease Mr Wick and his associates are. The further glasnost goes and the more deeply embedded democratization becomes in the U.S.S.R., the more nervous are the well-rewarded propagandists of the different system.

Well, it only remains to say that if what you do is not to your opponent's liking, it's a sure sign you are on the right track.

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Irangate began in Vietnam

LEV YELIN

Planes and missiles from the Pentagon's warehouses were sold on the international arms market in the past too, with the proceeds "laundered" through secret bank accounts and channelled to Washington's "friends"—the governments of some countries and anti-government groups in others. These operations were controlled by people of the same kind as those who recently ran Irangate. That "silent mafia" emerged and learned the art of covert operations during the U.S. intervention in Indo-China.

Dramatis Personae

The Senate select committee to investigate the Iran-contras deal obtained evidence that Richard Secord, a retired U.S. Air Force Major General, and two former CIA officers, Thomas Clines



Maj.-Gen. Richard Secord, whose name was kept secret by his fellow operators in Indo-China.

and Theodore Shackley, had opened and/or controlled a Swiss bank account in which some of the profits from the arms sales to Iran were deposited. The money must have been transferred from

Switzerland to accounts in the Cayman Islands and handed over to the contras. (According to other information, Clines was also responsible for the hire of pilots to ship supplies to the contras, while Shackley took part in the meetings with Iranians that set the arms deal rolling.—L.Y.)

Contact with Iranian officials was established through an American businessman of Iranian extraction, Albert Hakim, who may also have suggested that the Iranians should be overcharged and the surplus used to finance the contras.

An unnamed CIA officer involved in the operation said that General Secord and Hakim were aides of almost equal standing to Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North.

Now let us go back some years to the operations of the Pentagon and the CIA in Indo-China, the Vietnam war and the U.S. acts of aggression against Laos.

In March 1962, Richard Secord was dispatched to Indo-China as an adviser to the South Vietnamese army. From August 1966 to August 1968 he was stationed at a Thai air force base in Udon, planning covert operations against Laos (while Bangkok officially remained neutral). In addition, Secord was prominent in supervising the operations of the CIA-run airline Air America. In 1972-73 he was transferred from the Air Force to the CIA and made responsible for the operations of CIA mercenaries infiltrated into Laos by means of Air America and some charter airlines. War historian Shelby Stanton says Secord "was one of the guys in charge of the

money... of getting the money for the mercenary troops involved in the illegal war."

Shackley and Clines were also active in the region.

From the middle to the late 1960s, Theodore Shackley was CIA station chief in Vietnam and Laos, where, according to the Baltimore Sun, he directed a private army of local mercenaries and American advisers, CIA agents and airline pilots, some of whom worked for Air America.

One of Shackley's lieutenants was Thomas Clines. The two had known each other since the early 1960s, when together they planned anti-Cuban actions in Miami.

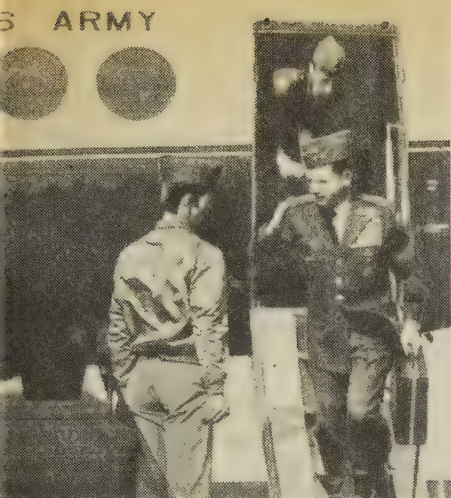
Secord, Shackley and Clines could not have helped but know each other. And Peter Maas says in his book, "Manhunt," that Secord "operated closely" with Shackley and Clines in Laos. But what was their job?

Nugan Dies, Hand Vanishes

The 37-year-old Australian banker Frank Nugan was found dead in his car outside Sydney on January 13, 1980. The official verdict was suicide. Nugan was co-owner of the commercial bank Nugan-Hand, established in the early 1970s. An investigation revealed that the bank had been swindling its clients and was deeply involved in drug and arms trafficking. In March 1983 a joint investigating team for the Commonwealth and New South Wales (where the bank was located) submitted a report which has not yet been fully declassified. Some facts, however, have become public knowledge.

In the seven years of its operations, Nugan-Hand took part in numerous legal and illegal deals in 13 countries, including the United States, the Cayman Islands, Hongkong, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand. It "laundered" proceeds from the sale of heroin from the Golden Triangle (the frontier regions of Burma, Thailand and Laos, which yield up to 800 tons of raw opium a year), and had direct links with 26 drug barons.

But who had a stake in the "laundered" money? Let us look at the list of the bank's consultants. Among them were former CIA director William Colby (his card was found in Nugan's pocket), former CIA deputy director Walter McDonald, CIA officers Robert Jansen and Patry Loomis, and Dale Holmgreen, a former chief of the flying service of Air America. Michael Hand, Nugan's partner, was a former military intelligence officer who had served in Laos,



Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, ex-president of the World Anti-Communist League, active in clandestine aid to the contras.

and in the late 1960s worked for Air America. It was at that time that the airline's operations were directed by Secord, Clines and Shackley. The declassified part of the Australian report says that Hand also cooperated closely with the three when he ran the bank.

The Nugan-Hand Bank was set up by the CIA and U.S. military intelligence, and it must have been Shackley, Clines, Secord and Hand who carried out the scheme.

The mercenary gangs of Vang Pao, directed by Shackley, Clines and Secord, seized control of opium plantations. Air America planes and helicopters shipping weapons for the mercenaries carried opium on their return runs. The airline came to be known as Air Opium. The profits were "laundered" through Nugan-Hand. The Australian report says, inter alia, that Clines deposited millions of dollars with the bank, while the full sum was in the region of \$4.5 billion. The money was used to maintain the mercenaries (Secord's job) and to meet other CIA needs.

It was also used to run arms supplies. In 1976, 3,000 pieces of small arms and 10 million packs of ammunition were shipped by Nugan-Hand from Boston to "forces backed by American intelligence" in Angola. In the same year Hand and his bank contributed to the delivery of a U.S. Navy reconnaissance vessel to the Iranian Navy. The bank also funded arms sales to South Africa and Rhodesia's white minority government.

One Edwin P. Wilson, a CIA agent, was involved in most of the deals. The Australian investigators established that he had known Secord, Shackley and Clines for almost 20 years.

But there is one snag: the names of Shackley and Clines are mentioned fair-

ly frequently in books, newspaper articles and even lawsuits, while Secord always remains in the background. Why?

On the day Nugan's body was found in Australia, a man called Houghton left a case at Wilson's office in Geneva. In April, when Nugan-Hand was deeply embroiled in scandal, Tom Clines called at Wilson's office and took some documents from the case. The investigators were later told by a witness who asked to be allowed to remain anonymous that Richard Secord had been mentioned and that Clynes had said, "we've got to keep Dick's name out of this." Secord clearly enjoyed special protection.

There was another man who could have divulged Secord's role in arms running and the source of the money for the mercenaries. This was Michael Hand. But six months after the death of his partner Hand, travelling on a false passport, took a flight for the U.S.—and vanished without trace.

Secord—Hakim

"Dick," meanwhile, was rising fast through the ranks. In the mid-1970s he was chief of the U.S. Air Force support group in Iran. That was when Edwin Wilson approached Secord afresh and introduced the arms merchant Albert Hakim to him as a "reliable man." Eventually, however, Wilson fell out with Hakim and referred to him only as a "dishonest swindler." But Secord and Hakim forged a lasting relationship. The Christie Institute has stated that in the mid-1970s Secord helped Hakim buy from the Pentagon a U.S. Air Force plane and some weaponry at factory gate prices, and the dealer resold the merchandise in the Middle East at a handsome profit. Secord rewarded Hakim with a generous commission and lodged the bulk of the proceeds in the secret account from which arms purchases for the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza were financed. In 1983 Secord retired and became president of a company controlled by Hakim.

The two pulled their next deal in 1984. They bought a plane from Maule Air Inc, and, according to the New York Times, the plane soon found its way to the contras.

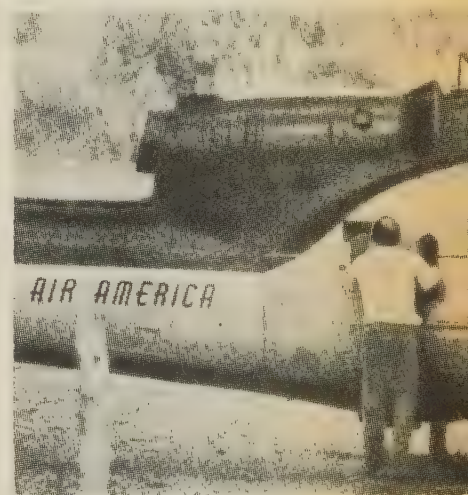
Secord and North met in the early 1980s. They carried out an operation which was no less than a dress rehearsal for Irangate. Saudi Arabia bought AWACS planes and, as a consequence, the Philadelphia Inquirer believes, extra funds to the value of several hundred million dollars appeared and were channelled to the rebels in Afghanistan and Central America.

* * *

Irangate seems to have firm roots in the past. Take, for instance, Cooper and Hasenfus, the pilots of the American plane shot down over Nicaragua in the autumn of 1986. They ran arms to the

contras. In the Vietnam war both had worked for Air America. Or take retired Major General John Singlaub, who was recruited by North, as the Baltimore Sun says, to solicit private funds for the contras. Singlaub served in Vietnam from 1966 to 1968, heading a top secret military support group. Historian Shelby Stanton says the group "did a lot of things and they didn't answer a lot of questions about it." An idea of these "things" can be gathered from the career of Singlaub's former deputy in Vietnam, retired Brigadier General Harry Aderholt. Historian William Leary thinks that Aderholt's job was to prepare airfields for Air America planes. Aderholt worked side by side with Secord for 15 years and considers him his protégé. Aderholt's name is now mentioned among those involved in the contra supply operations.

Those involved in Irangate claim (or believe) that they were working in the



An Air America helicopter in the jungle, evidently about to take on a cargo of opium.

Photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

national interest. Following this logic, the national interest was promoted by drug dealers through Nugan-Hand which led to the death of at least one of them and ruined the lives of thousands upon thousands of drug addicts in the U.S. as well as elsewhere, and the illicit sales of Pentagon arms (Secord and Hakim). Crime after crime has been perpetrated to "shore up" U.S. foreign policy. But their ultimate result is entirely consonant with the pattern of the principles espoused by the White House, such as intervention in the affairs of sovereign peoples and disregard for international law. It is these principles that breed people like Secord, Shackley, Clines and Hakim and prepare the ground for front companies, secret accounts and illegal deals.

The hangover of Reaganomics

FELIX GORYUNOV

"Complacent" was how businessmen and economists described the state of the world capitalist economy in 1986. It was the second year in which economic growth rates had been slowing down not only in the U.S., where the economy in 1984 had passed the cyclical peak after the 1980-82 recession, but also in Western Europe and Japan, where business activity was at its liveliest two years ago. As a result, the cyclical phases of the three centres of world capitalism will almost coincide in 1987, and all three will lapse into another crisis of overproduction more or less simultaneously.

Growth Recession

The gradual slowing down of economic growth rates, certain Western economists say, is not the beginning of a slump but merely a temporary "growth recession," after which the economy will start accelerating again because, they believe, there is still some steam left in the West's economic locomotive, the United States.



**GROSS
DOMESTIC
PRODUCT**

(increment on previous year,
per cent)

1984 1985 1986*

Industrialized capitalist countries, total	4.6	2.7	2.5
U.S.A.	6.5	2.7	2.5
EEC	2.1	2.2	2.3
Japan	5.1	4.7	2.3

* Tentative

Although consumer demand dropped substantially in the U.S. early this year (in January, retail sales fell by 5.8 per

cent as against last year's overall growth by four per cent), White House economists do not believe this to be a symptom of curtailing production. Neither do they regard as an alarm signal the cutdown in industrial investment by 5 per cent in 1986 (it is expected to go down by a further 2 per cent this year). The President's report to Congress on the outlook for the economy is, as usual, extremely optimistic: it predicts an economic growth of 3.2 per cent this year (in 1986, the White House predicted a 4 per cent growth). Consumer price rates in the U.S. are the lowest in the last 25 years. The stock exchange barometer shows "fine." Despite a sharp drop in stock prices last June, July and September, the "bulls" have cleared the 2,000-point hurdle of the Dow-Jones industrial index.

Stock prices were going up in Western Europe too last year, although its economic growth rates were also modest. In 1986 the gross domestic product (GDP) increment was 2.5 per cent in the F.R.G., 2.0 per cent in Britain, 2.4 per cent in France, and 2.8 per cent in Italy. Industrial output growth figures were 2.5 per cent, 1.5 per cent, 1.5 per cent and 2.0 per cent, respectively. In the Common Market countries a rise in consumer demand (by an average of 3.7 per cent a year) was accompanied by a growth of 6 per cent in industrial investment.

Japan, on the other hand, has had its first industrial slump in the past eleven years, which hit export-oriented industries hardest due to the appreciation of the yen against the dollar. The output of engineering products fell by almost 7 per cent, and of steel by 6 per cent. Nonetheless, Japanese exporters again set a new record. The country's trade surplus reached \$82.7 billion.

The value of the United States' and the Common Market countries' imports from Japan exceeded that of their exports to that country by \$58.6 billion

and \$16.7 billion, respectively. The F.R.G. also stood to gain from the growth of its exports, primarily to the U.S.: its foreign trade surplus topped \$50 billion. As for the United States, it finished 1986 with a record-high trade deficit: \$170 billion (as against \$148.5 billion in 1985).

Beggar Thy Neighbour

The White House blames the United States' partners for its unprecedented trade deficit. Our trade locomotive has slowed down, Washington says, so now is the time for Bonn and Tokyo to pull the cart. To do so, they have to stimulate their economic growth and throw their doors open to U.S. goods. As a result, America will purportedly be able to put an end to its trade deficit, and the entire capitalist economy will get a second wind.



**INDUSTRIAL
PRODUCTION**

(increment on previous year,
per cent)

1984 1985 1986*

Industrialized capitalist countries, total	7.2	3.2	1.4
U.S.A.	11.1	2.0	0.9
EEC	3.0	3.3	2.3
Japan	11.0	4.5	-0.4

* Tentative

Putting pressure on its reluctant allies has become the pivot of the White House's foreign economic policy. Washington is trying to impose its "panaceas" on them by hook or by crook—by persuasion at the big seven summit in Tokyo last May, at the annual IMF session, and bilateral talks and, finally, by the depreciation of the dollar. In 1986 alone, the Japanese yen rose by 33 per cent and the West German mark by 20 per cent against the dollar. The magazine *Fortune*, the mouthpiece of big business, predicts that the U.S. may cut its trade deficit only if the dollar falls by 15 per cent or so over the next year or two.

What will this entail?

In the opinion of Massachusetts Institution of Technology Professor Lester C. Thurow, now a fashionable oracle in the U.S. tipped to be chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advis-

ers, if the Democrats take the White House in the 1988 elections, such a depreciation of the dollar will cause "massive industrial restructuring" in the West. An increase in the competitiveness of American products will result in about four million manufacturing jobs being transferred to the U.S. from Western Europe, Japan and Canada. Addressing the World Economic Forum, as the meetings of the Western business elite in the Swiss town of Davos are styled, Lester Thurow said that Mr Reagan's economic policy had transformed the U.S. from a net creditor to a net debtor nation, pushing the world capitalist economy into "a 'black hole' in which the normal economic laws will cease to operate."

Reaganists are trying to justify their "beggart-hy-neighbour-with-the - cheap-dollar" policy by claiming that there is no alternative to it. If the American economy is not livened up by export expansion, they reason, the ensuing crisis will make things even worse for world capitalism. This seems logical enough. Over the years of Reaganomics the world capitalist economy's dependence on (or, to be more exact, link-up with) the U.S. economy has grown immeasurably.

The question is whether the Reagan administration is acting cleverly and responsibly enough. "At the moment," a speaker at the Davos Forum said, "the U.S. is seen by its partners more nearly like a drunk elephant rather than a leader with a clear sense of direction."

"We've Been Had"

As it took office in 1981, the Republican administration promised an annual economic growth rate of no less than four per cent. Over the six years since then the actual figure has averaged a mere 2 per cent instead.



UNEMPLOYMENT

(number of jobless, million)

	1984	1985	1986*
Industrialized capitalist countries, total	28.5	28.8	31.9
U.S.A.	8.5	8.3	8.1
Western Europe	18.3	19.0	19.3
Japan	1.6	1.6	2.2

* Tentative

The President assured the nation that by the mid-eighties unemployment would not exceed 5.6 per cent of the total work force. In fact, its average annual level has amounted to 8.1 per cent over the last decade. Considering that 5.4 million of those in work are doing part-time jobs, and that more than a million jobless do not register at labour exchanges because they have lost all hope of finding work, the real level of unemployment is now 10 per cent.

The increase in labour redundancy over the years of Reaganomics has put excessive pressure on the labour market and thus beaten down the inflation rate. The same has been true of Western Europe.



RETAIL PRICE GROWTH RATE

(in per cent to previous year)

	1984	1985	1986*
Industrialized capitalist countries, total	5.3	4.6	2.7
U.S.A.	4.4	3.5	2.0
EEC	6.7	6.4	3.4
Japan	2.2	2.1	0.5

* Tentative

At the estimate of the London Financial Times, the average U.S. worker's weekly earnings in 1986 were 8.5 per cent lower in real terms than in 1970. Industrialists were able to reduce prices because the drop in outlay on labour was accompanied by a rise in work efficiency. In the manufacturing industry productivity increased by 3-4 per cent annually. Since 1979 the U.S. steel industry's per hour output has grown by 18 per cent, the motor industry's by 20 per cent, the fire-making industry's by 40 per cent, and the radio engineering industry's by as much as 75 per cent.

It was not only the workers' living standard that failed to improve. Most Americans now earn as much as they did early last decade. Almost half of middle-class families have managed to maintain their standard of living chiefly because they now have two wage earners. Today 65 per cent of married American women work as against 28 per cent in 1960. And what about the over 30 million Americans who have found themselves below the poverty line? According to the National Coalition for the Homeless, about three million people have nowhere to live. But then the living standard of the 20 per cent

of Americans belonging to the upper middle class has gone up sharply.

The further enrichment of the wealthy few cannot offset, however, the economic losses caused by the erosion of the working majority's purchasing power. As a result, expanding consumer demand is now due not to Americans earning more or having larger savings, but to their buying on credit. The number of arrears on consumer credits has reached an all-time high since 1953, the Time magazine wrote. The U.S. crediting and financial system itself has run deeply into debt. The shortage of domestic savings was compensated for by foreign capital (over \$140 billion, or 3 per cent of the gross domestic product, in 1986). And not only capital, either. The London Economist magazine is of the opinion that if Americans were ordered to stop buying cheaper and better foreign goods, their real incomes would be cut by 20 per cent. In other words, American "prosperity" is maintained at the expense of other countries' money and commodity resources.

According to Alan Blinder, Professor of Economics at Princeton University, the U.S. gross product grew by \$487 billion, and consumer spending by Americans by \$702 billion in the period from 1980 to 1986. "These figures are a measure of our high living—or of our self-deception," the Princeton professor writes. "And they help explain why the lackluster performance of our economy generated so little discontent. But no binge lasts forever. Sooner or later America will awaken to the hangover of Reaganomics. No nation can long consume more than it produces. It is hard to resist the conclusion that we've been had."

In 1986 the state budget deficit reached \$220.7 billion and the overall federal debt exceeded two trillion. Washington attracts foreign capital not in order to stimulate civil production, but to finance its militaristic programmes. It is primarily the financing of the arms race at the expense of other countries that has brought the U.S. foreign debt up to \$250 billion.

Feeding on the Arms Race

Militarization has impaired the quality of the U.S. economy and financial system. Last summer non-productive military spending began to account for a third of the GDP growth. A number of industries depend chiefly on defence outlays for expansion. These outlays are responsible for half of the growth in the radio engineering and aluminium industries; the electronic and aerospace industries depend on the

Pentagon's orders to a still larger extent.

New Times has already referred to the fact (see No. 39, 1986) that the Pentagon has long been pursuing a "secret industrial policy" which has led to structural imbalances in the economy. The Pentagon also directs the country's foreign trade policy under the pretext of "protecting national security." It does not confine itself to banning exports of new technologies. Owing to the decline in the competitiveness of American engineering products, more than 40 per cent of the U.S. machine tool fleet has been modernized through imports. In December 1986 President Reagan announced his intention "to facilitate the revitalization of the United States machine tool industry." The plan for its modernization, which has already been endorsed, is to be carried out (1) by the Pentagon. The "defence semiconductor initiative," launched last year, is regarded by the Common Market as "unfair competition" because all it amounts to is exports secretly subsidized from the federal budget. Like SDI, such "initiatives" provide ways for the military-industrial complex to feed on taxpayer's money. "National security" costs every American \$920 a year (the West European and Japanese figures being \$240 and \$191, respectively).

It would be appropriate in this context to recall one of the Republicans' main ideological postulates—namely, their professed adherence to free enterprise unrestricted by government intervention. Under Reagan, their ideology has found its embodiment in the "deregulation" of the economy. The extolling of free enterprise was balm for the hearts of small and medium entrepreneurs stifled by the monopoly of big business and "big government" taxes. So they did not object to cuts in social spending and the increase in military expenditure: the first has grown by a mere 7 per cent, and the latter, by 50 per cent over the years of Reaganomics. Civil production has grown by about 12 per cent, and arms production by 70 per cent, with the result that instead of going down to the promised 19 per cent of the gross product, federal expenditure now amounts to 24 per cent of it.

Furthermore, "deregulation" has made capitalists free to cash in on the "restructuring of corporate America," i.e., securities manipulations in mergers and takeovers (see New Times, No. 1, 1987, p. 36). On an ordinary trading day the turnover of the New York Federal Reserve Bank totals a trillion dollars. It is the financial boom that explains, in particular the rise in stock prices despite the overall slowing down of business activity. Incidentally, most securities are purchased by foreigners. In 1986, Japanese companies and banks

invested nearly \$100 billion in the United States, spending 93 per cent of the total sum on U.S. Treasury bonds and thus offsetting nearly half of the U.S. federal budget deficit. (A historical paradox! Following its defeat in World War II, Japan has achieved impressive economic successes, largely thanks to not squandering its national resources on defence. And now it is subsidizing the militarization of its chief imperialist competitor's economy, thus weakening its position in world trade and finance.)

The redistribution, through the federal budget, of enormous sums in favour of the military-industrial complex, plus the "deregulated" sway of the financial oligarchy in the economy—this is free enterprise Reagan-style. Government intervention in economic processes has further increased and assumed the freakish form of state-monopoly regulation of a militaristic type that restricts the action of "normal" capitalist laws.

A Strategic Miscalculation

The distinguished U.S. economist J.K. Galbraith told New Times correspondents recently that he did not think continued arms production would favour economic progress, and remarked: "Capitalism may have its flaws, but it's not that bad." He was fairly optimistic about the possibility of re-converting arms manufacturing into civil production in the United States.

Much as we would like to share Professor Galbraith's optimism, one cannot fail to see that the economies of the U.S. and its principal allies are falling under the militarists' control. Politicians, financiers and industrialists motivated not by economic logic but by a maniacal desire to "roll back communism" are calling the tune. The increasing dominance of the extreme-right on the world capitalist scene is not merely a swing of the political pendulum which tends to gravitate to the mean. The political mean itself has moved to the right. The advent to power of the neoconservatives in the U.S., Britain and the F.R.G. at the end of the seventies and in the early eighties was predetermined by the strategic objectives of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

I remember coming across an article by David Rockefeller in the New York Times in the spring of 1973. Under the head "Capitalism: Is it good or bad?" he wrote: "The greatest strength of capitalism is probably its adaptability," its ability "to respond to changing circumstances more readily than tightly controlled systems." In July of the same year David Rockefeller sponsored the establishment of the Trilateral Commission, comprising prominent representatives of the business and

political elite of the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. In 1975, the commission came up with the report "The Crisis of Democracy," which called upon the West to swing to the right, bury the then still fashionable ideas of the "welfare state" and nip détente in the bud.

This strategy of class revanchism and tough confrontation with world socialism was capitalism's reaction to "changing circumstances"—particularly in the competition between the two world systems. Capitalism's hope of winning this competition was fostered chiefly by our domestic problems. The Western strategists sought to aggravate these problems with a massive attack—economic, political, psychological, and militarist, and even threats from outer space. It is becoming increasingly obvious, however, that they have miscalculated.

In the heat of the attack, the Republican elephant all but forgot about its rear. (U.S. Federal Reserve System Chairman Paul Volcker said recently that due to the huge budget deficit it would hardly be possible to stimulate the economy with a rise in federal spending, i.e., that the U.S. must be prepared to accept the prospect of a recession and a rise in unemployment.) The flanks are unreliable, too. (At the Davos forum, West European bankers voiced doubts as to whether they should go on funding the U.S. federal deficit.)

Is the American elephant sobering up? Judging from the recent reshuffles in the Reagan team, it may look like that the movement towards the political mean has already begun. This does not mean, however, that the ruling elite has parted ways with the extreme-right, or that it has finally realized (after so many abortive attempts) that there is no "rolling back communism" by force, that the socio-economic reconstruction now in progress in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries calls for a new approach by the West, and that, having lost the strategic initiative in world politics, it could ultimately lose it in the world economy as well.

Two particular trends in the economic competition between the two systems are worthy of special note here. Socialism seeks to make active use of commodity and money relations in optimizing its socio-economic structures, and it is democratizing its entire economic system. Contrariwise, capitalism is steadily departing from commodity economy which gave it birth; it has got locked into militarism, and entangled in a web of financial swindles. So it will have to prove to the world that it is still capable of reorienting its economy from "guns" to "butter."

A friend in need

BORIS PILYATSKIN

A stone's throw from Julius Nyerere Street in the Mozambique capital of Maputo, there is a mansion in the vicinity of which one can always meet our compatriots. It is the office of the Soviet embassy economic counsellor. The Soviet specialists are putting into practice what is termed economic and technical cooperation. A firm foundation for this cooperation is provided by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique signed ten years ago, on March 31, 1977.

...At 00 hours 01 minute on June 25, 1975, the proud words "People's Republic of Mozambique," shone out in the beams of searchlights in the capital's Mashawa stadium. But from the first, the young republic was plagued with problems. One was the situation at Maputo port. There was no one to bring merchant ships in or out of port: the only pilots who worked there—Europeans—had left. This meant there was a real danger that work at the capital's port, the largest on the east African coast, would be brought to a halt.

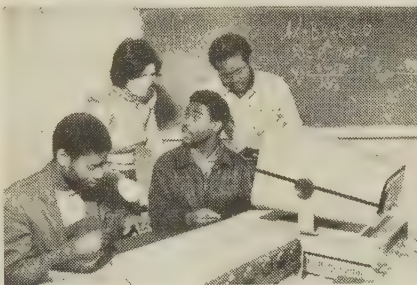
"Mozambique will be haywire after independence," predicted the South African newspapers. It looked as if the entire system of trade and economic relations, of which the port is the lynchpin, was about to collapse. But this has not happened. Help came with a group of Soviet pilots who arrived shortly and got down to work. The problem of the "bottleneck" has been resolved, with work at Maputo port returning to normal.

In the aftermath of the withdrawal of the colonial powers, the lot of newly independent countries has never been easy. But Portugal, for nearly five centuries, and especially in the last years of the totalitarian fascist regime, literally sucked its "overseas territories" in Africa dry.

Ninety-odd per cent of the population illiterate, national cadres of doctors, engineers and other skilled personnel virtually nonexistent, the national economy in a state of disarray following the mass departure of Portuguese settlers—such was the situation in Mozambique. The country was not even given a respite after the eleven-year armed

struggle: racist South Africa and its Western benefactors were bent on keeping the young republic in a state of permanent destabilization.

The flexing of military muscle on the South African side of the border, blackmail and sabotage, forays into Mozambique's territory by Rhodesian commandos—first sporadic, then increasingly regular and extensive, continuous sabotage and terrorist raids by the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which have now escalated into a real undeclared war—



Young Mozambicans receiving instruction in information technology and computer science at an engineering school in Baku.

TASS photo

such is the background against which Mozambique has to effect its socioeconomic reforms.

The problems created daily by the activities of the republic's enemies further aggravate the already difficult economic situation. The fall in production and, as a consequence, the acute shortage of food and basic consumer goods, dislocation in transport, erratic public services—are just some of the realities of life today in Mozambique. But in all my years as a correspondent in the country, I have never once heard a Soviet specialist bemoaning the difficulties and dangers of life there as a result of the activities of the bandits.

Soviet doctors and teachers, geologists, drillers and mechanics work side by side with their Mozambique colleagues.

...Limpopo Valley (incidentally, the river of the same name, known to Soviet children from poems by Kornei

Chukovsky, has absolutely nothing exotic about it, a narrow ribbon, slowly taking its dark waters to the Indian Ocean) could have been the country's breadbasket had it not been for the elements that play havoc there with alternating floods and droughts. That year the drought was particularly hard on the fertile soil. Many settlements in Gaza Province were left without drinking water.

Soviet specialists working on an agricultural and energy resources utilization project in the area came to the assistance of the province's population. I remember the smile of Alexander Pistekhin, the drilling expert who headed a team of Mozambique workers, when they hit fresh water at a depth of 212 metres. It was cause for real celebrations at the settlement of Noshokoluana and neighbouring villages, with people singing and dancing in the streets.

Wells have been drilled by our experts in other provinces, too. My friends in Maputo have written to me that today thousands of Mozambicans have fresh water brought to them from below the surface as a result of teamwork by Soviet drillers and local workers. Milling machine operators trained at the industrial school set up with the help of the Soviet Union are working at the capital's carriage-building plant, Cometel-Mometel. Nurses and medical aides who trained under Soviet doctors maintain services round the clock at the hospitals. And scores of young Mozambican men and women have been educated at Soviet colleges and technical schools.

These and other facts give a general picture of Soviet-Mozambican cooperation. This cooperation also includes the strengthening of Mozambique's defence capability. It has become evident in the ten years that have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation that the ties between our countries and peoples have acquired a stable and steady character.

A regular meeting of the Soviet-Mozambican intergovernment commission on economic and technical cooperation and trade took place in Maputo early this March. Noting the tremendous practical importance of that cooperation, Joaquim Chissano, chairman of the FRELIMO Party and President of the republic, emphasized that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are Mozambique's traditional friends and that the development of relations with them is regarded by Mozambique as a priority issue.

Ties of friendship between our countries will continue to grow stronger.

Maputo—Moscow

Genoa and Rapallo

New Archive Finds

Sixty-five years ago an international conference that was destined to occupy a special place in history opened in the San Giorgio palace in Genoa. To this day the Genoa conference and associated events continue to engage the attention of historians, publicists and politicians. The Soviet historian Professor Abdulkhan Akhtamzyan has for years been studying documents relating to this particular period in archives in the U.S.S.R., the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. Below Dr Akhtamzyan discusses the results of his latest researches in an interview to New Times.

N.T.: To begin with, what would you say accounts for the keen and unabating interest in Genoa and Rapallo?

Akhtamzyan: Primarily, the character of the Genoa conference. It was the first time the leading capitalist countries of Europe had invited the world's first socialist state to the negotiating table. This was altogether unprecedented at that time. Secondly, Soviet Russia advanced in Genoa a sweeping programme of international cooperation based on the Leninist principle of "parallel existence," i.e., the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, or, as it was put then, different "property systems." Thirdly, the Soviet government proposed in Genoa a general reduction of armaments. And, lastly, literally a few days after the Genoa conference opened, Germany and the Soviet republic signed in Rapallo, a small town near Genoa, an agreement in which the principle of peaceful coexistence was applied in practice. Thus, Genoa and Rapallo were diplomatic acts whose fundamental importance remains undiminished to this day.

N.T.: Some Western historians contend that the Treaty of Rapallo was an accidental occurrence, the result merely of the lack of coordination among the Western countries, that the Soviet diplomats in Genoa had taken advantage of a convenient moment to sow discord in the "family" of Western powers. Is that so?

Akhtamzyan: I would not care to begin on a polemical note, but the "diplomatic legends" the West has concocted about the Rapallo Treaty are of such long standing that to dispel them it is necessary not only to repeat the old facts but to bring to light hitherto unknown facts. New Times readers will, of course, be interested less in the details of the case than in

the principles involved. And this takes us back to the distant time when Soviet foreign policy was taking its first steps.

N.T.: Already at that time bourgeois propaganda accused our foreign policy of the same sins it ascribes to us today.

Akhtamzyan: What annoys our ideo-



logical opponents most is that as far back as the 1920s the Soviet state entered the international arena not as a chance intruder but as a highly principled and equal partner—a partner of those, of course, who like ourselves sought mutually advantageous and equal cooperation.

N.T.: But to return to the year 1922....

Akhtamzyan: It will be recalled that the Versailles Peace Treaty, dictated by the Entente, placed Germany in an onerous position. In the ruling circles of the Weimar Republic, however, there were some farsighted politicians

who, while having no sympathy for the Soviet system, realized that good-neighbourly relations with Soviet Russia, which was not a party to Versailles, could help Germany to uphold its state interests and strengthen its national independence and economy.

N.T.: When did the rapprochement begin? In Rapallo?

Akhtamzyan: Earlier, of course. And that demolishes all the fables about it all being "a matter of chance." New material relating to the prehistory of Rapallo came to light comparatively recently—the record of talks in September-October 1922 between retired Consul-General Moritz Schlesinger and ex-Chancellor Joseph Wirth who was directly involved in the events of that period.

It appears that as far back as the summer of 1921 (after the conclusion of an interim agreement between Germany and the Russian Federation which was of a predominantly economic nature) Wirth realized that the relations between the two countries had to be placed on a solid contractual footing. Before he became Chancellor, Wirth had been Minister of Finance, and he was well aware that if the Bolsheviks

Georgi Chicherin (left) and his deputy, Lev Karakhan, in their office at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

joined in the Western powers' reparations claims Germany's already grievous plight would be aggravated. Wirth told Schlesinger that in the summer of 1921, during a walk in the garden of the Chancellery with Baron von Maltzan, an official of the Eastern department, they had arrived at the unanimous con-

clusion that Germany must find "an outlet to the East."

And so, in December 1921, Maltzan was appointed head of the Eastern department of the Foreign Office and thus given the opportunity of carrying out the Chancellor's policy. Wirth's choice of Maltzan for this post was not accidental. Adolf Georg Otto (Ago for short) von Maltzan, Baron Wartenberg and Penzlin came from an old Mecklenburg family. He had excellent contacts with the top German industrialists. This 45-year-old career diplomat was considered one of the most promising politicians of the Weimar Republic. He was entrusted with the responsible mission of laying the groundwork for a settlement with Soviet Russia. En route to Genoa, the Soviet delegation had stopped over in Berlin, where the text of a possible treaty was discussed. But at that time Chancellor Wirth, awaiting the outcome of the Genoa conference, was hesitant.

N.T.: Let us return to Genoa. What exactly happened there?

Akhfamzyan: The first sitting began at 3.05 p. m. on April 10. The opening of the conference would hardly have gone down into the history of diplomacy had it not been for the speech delivered by the representative of Soviet Russia.

It was then that Chicherin uttered these historic words:

"While adhering to the principles of communism, the Russian delegation recognizes that in the present historical epoch which allows of the parallel existence of the old and the new, nascent social system, economic co-operation between states representing these two property systems is an imperative necessity for general economic revival."

We know today how much time and thought the Soviet leaders headed by Lenin had given to this programme of cooperation. Besides proposing practical measures, it underscored the paramount need to start discussing the question of disarmament.

N.T.: That was the first time the question was raised after the end of the war, was it not?

Akhfamzyan: Practically the first. Because at Versailles the Entente powers were concerned solely with the disarmament of Germany, while as regards themselves they went no farther than vague phrases. Chicherin, on the other hand, called for universal reduction of armaments, urging "support for all proposals aimed at easing the burden of militarism."

Here it should be noted that the "host powers" wanted to present the participation of Soviet Russia as something of a "return of the prodigal son." But that ruse did not work. The

Soviet diplomats adopted an independent stance in Genoa and adhered to it firmly throughout the negotiations.

After the first sitting, the Western powers invited the Soviet delegation to join in semi-private talks on economic questions, which centred on the tsarist debts. The talks took place at the Albertis villa, the residence of the British Prime Minister David Lloyd George. Here the terms of reconciliation were examined in heated debates. The German representatives, however, were not invited to Lloyd George's villa; they were, so to speak, left out in the cold.

N.T.: How have the subsequent developments come to be known?

Akhfamzyan: In the political archives of the F.R.G. Foreign Ministry I came across a diary of Baron von Maltzan, the man who had full knowledge of the negotiations with the Soviet representatives. The folder marked "German delegation. Genoa. Rapallo Treaty" contained 17 typescript pages with notes in Maltzan's handwriting and stamped "confidential." And no wonder, for the text contains hitherto unknown information.

For a long time the circumstances immediately preceding the decision by the German side to conclude a treaty with Soviet Russia were known mainly from the memoirs of the British Ambassador in Berlin Lord D'Abernon. The memoirs of members of the Soviet group in Genoa—Boris Stein, Nikolai Lyubimov and Alexander Erlich—mainly concerned the Soviet side. However, D'Abernon had not been in Genoa, and his reminiscences were based on what he had learned from Maltzan. The latter, of course, had no reason to be altogether candid. But in his own record he was perfectly frank.

N.T.: How is what actually happened reflected in Maltzan's diary?

Akhfamzyan: Here we come to the most interesting thing. The diary entries cover the period from the 10th to the 17th of April. Here is a brief résumé of what happened.

From Maltzan's diary: April 11. At the first meeting of the Political Commission, Lloyd George announced that the London memorandum should be the basis for the settlement of financial claims.

Comment by Abdulkhan Akhfamzyan: The London memorandum, drafted by Western experts before the Genoa conference, was seen by the German government, and not without grounds, as something of a Damocles sword, inasmuch as it provided for the payment of reparations by Germany and did not exclude Soviet Russia's right to demand the same.

...In the evening there was a meeting with Gregory, the chief of the "Russian" department of the British

Foreign Office. Both sides noted that so far German policy on the "Russian question" had followed the British. "In conclusion I reminded him that in view of Chicherin's stopover [in Berlin en route to Genoa—A.A.], we had taken the opportunity to settle satisfactorily and separately our relations with Russia and remove the difficulties remaining from the former state of war, but considering the coming conference in Genoa, we preferred to go to Genoa with our hands completely free."

April 12. Meeting with British experts. The German side explained why at least three points of the London memorandum were unacceptable. The British promised to



Palazzo San Giorgio, venue of the Genoa conference.

inform Lloyd George immediately.

"In this connection I pointed once more to the possibility that we might again have to contact the Russians in the matter of Article 116 [of the Versailles treaty relating to reparations—A.A.], but the British preferred to dismiss the matter as inconsequential, and promised to give an answer as soon as possible."

April 13. Rumours that talks with Soviet Russia were under way at the Albertis villa are confirmed. "The Reichsminister in the meantime had asked Lloyd George, twice in writing and once over the telephone, for an audience but all three requests were turned down."

Although the Western powers in preparing the conference had declared that there should be neither victors nor vanquished at Genoa, they continued to treat Germany as the vanquished.

From Maltzan's diary. April 14. "The British have not yet given an answer to my question about the three points of the London Memorandum.... The Russians I spoke with confirmed that they are engaged all day in talks at Lloyd George's villa." Late that night Amadeo Gianini, a member of the Italian delegation, came to the Germans and asked to be received by the Chancellor on urgent business.

This was a crucial moment! Gianini reported that the Entente's negotiations with the Soviet representatives at the Albertis villa were going well.

The following memo of Gianini's visit made by German diplomats gives a clear picture of their pessimism: "The whole conversation was calculated to persuade the German delegation that, first, the negotiations between the Western powers and Russia were nearing completion, second, the coming treaty between the Western powers and Russia would not remove the onerous consequences for Germany following from the three points of the London memorandum, and, third, Gianini's information was an invitation to Germany to join in a treaty in the drafting of which Germany would have no say."

From Maltzan's diary: "Immediately after Gianini's departure at midnight, Minister Rathenau gave orders, in Mr Simson's presence, to establish contact with the Russians with a view to resuming the exchange of views begun in Berlin. I got in touch with Mr Joffe (a member of the Soviet delegation) by telephone and arranged to meet him next morning in the Palazzo Reale."

This entry conclusively disproves D'Abernon's allegation that on the night of April 15 Chicherin himself had telephoned the German residence and invited him and Rathenau to Rapallo to discuss the terms of a treaty and that the talk had lasted for a quarter of an hour. This leaves no doubt as to who was really the initiator of this move. Yet to this day the West persists in talking about the "treachery of the Russians" in Genoa. Let us see what happened further.

From Maltzan's diary: On the morning of April 15 there was a meeting at the appointed place with two Soviet representatives, Joffe and Rakovsky. They gave a detailed account of the negotiations with the Western powers at the Albertis villa describing them on the whole as productive. "I cautiously sounded out the Russians as regards the possibility of resuming our Berlin negotiations...." The Soviet representatives frankly said that, regardless of the outcome of the talks with the Western powers Soviet Russia was

ready to conclude an agreement with Germany.

After his meeting with Joffe and Rakovsky, Maltzan decided to try another tack: Why not exert pressure on the British? The same day he went to see the British diplomat Wise and warned him of a possible resumption of negotiations with the Russians. The German delegation, as I have mentioned above, was anxious to prevent Article 116 of the Versailles treaty from being put into effect. Wise, however, did not allay Maltzan's fears. He merely promised to take up the matter with Lloyd George. Meanwhile things were coming to a head: late at night on April 15 the German residence received a phone call from the Soviet delegation at the Palazzo Imperiale Hotel in Rapallo, proposing to resume the negotiations on Sunday morning, April 16. After that call, an all-night discussion, which has gone down in history as the "pyjamas conference," took place. Following the night meeting it was decided to accept the invitation to Rapallo and inform the British of the resumption of negotiations with the Russians.

From Maltzan's diary: "At 7.30 on Easter Sunday I telephoned to Wise, but his office staff said he was still asleep. When I asked them to wake him I was told that he would call back as soon as he got up. Receiving no call by 9.30, I phoned Wise again between 9.30 and 10 a.m. and was told that gentlemen had left...."

N.T. How did the final talks in Rapallo proceed?

Akhfamzyan: Rathenau, Simson and Maltzan arrived at the Soviet residence at noon. They asked Chicherin to go over once again the text of the treaty that had been discussed in Berlin. At 2.40 p.m., when the possibility of concluding a treaty emerged in principle, the German delegation sent the following telegram to Berlin: "The entire political situation here clearly points to the need for a separate agreement with the Russians in order to secure Germany's rights threatened by the London proposals."

Before long the text of the treaty was drawn up in two equally authentic copies. At 6.30 p.m. Chicherin and Rathenau affixed their signatures to the treaty. The Rapallo treaty normalized Soviet-German relations, recorded the mutual renunciation of all claims and envisaged the active development of economic ties. Later, the above-mentioned Schlesinger, summing up a talk with Wirth, was to write: "The fighting alliance concluded between Dr Wirth and von Maltzan aimed at extricating Germany from the Versailles vise by means of a breakthrough to the East, was realized in Rapallo."

N.T. Now about the practical im-

plementation of the Rapallo Treaty. How was it carried into effect?

Akhfamzyan: Among the documents I studied in Bonn was the file of the first German ambassador to Moscow Count Ulrich Brockdorff-Rantzau. I found there an exchange of letters between the Ambassador and Chicherin which testify to the positive development of Soviet-German relations in line with the Rapallo Treaty. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the signing of the treaty, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs sent the following message of congratulations to Rantzau.

"Openly and sincerely, before the whole world, the two nations declared for friendly relations, rapprochement and economic cooperation. For our country, renunciation of mutual claims is, as we know, the only possible basis for durable treaty relations, and the German government, by taking this course, made this reciprocal historic act possible. We believe that the mutual economic gravitation stemming from the economic and geographic position of the two countries has never found true expression in the past, and now for the first time the road is open to us."

A year later, in April 1924, there was another noteworthy exchange of letters. Chicherin, having in mind some anti-Rapallo tendencies in German ruling quarters, wrote Brockdorff-Rantzau:

"Rapallo has not been defeated by 'affiliation with the League of Nations,' by West-oriented industrialists, or by the swastika-bearers, just as it has not been defeated by the adverse circumstances in our country. Rapallo cannot be defeated—of that I am certain. Rapallo has a greater future than a past. And so, full steam ahead! The course remains unchanged!"

The part played by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau merits more detailed mention. The Rapallo treaty provided for the immediate resumption of diplomatic and consular relations between Soviet Russia and Germany. The Soviet government appointed Nikolai Kristinsky its ambassador to Berlin. The German ruling circles cast about for an appropriate candidate for the post of ambassador in Moscow. The international situation at the time was complex. Rapallo was under attack.

In these circumstances, the German President, the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, chose Count Brockdorff-Rantzau who was known as an experienced diplomat of the old school. A descendant of the old nobility who traced his ancestry back to the 12th century Holstein, he could hardly be suspected of sympathy for the Land of Soviets. Moreover, he had been extremely

sceptical of the Rapallo treaty at first. Nevertheless, he was destined to play a major positive role in implementing the treaty. The count soon realized that German industry had a vital interest in long-term cooperation with Soviet Russia, and he became an active proponent of Rapallo.

Before long, big German firms like AEG, Otto Wolff, Krupp and Stinnes began to establish contacts with Soviet foreign trade organizations. As soon as the new ambassador took up his post, a contract for the exchange of grain for German manufactures was concluded.

In May 1923 German firms were granted ten concessions in the U.S.S.R. and six more by the end of the year. In September 1925 a group of German banks extended the Soviet trade mission a credit of 75 million marks for the purchase of German goods. The Soviet government used the credit to place orders with German firms.

On October 12, 1925, a new economic agreement was signed in Moscow. It covered a variety of spheres: legal safeguards, economic and rail transport operations, shipping, taxes, commercial arbitration, and protection of industrial property. The agreement reaffirmed the principle of most favoured nation treatment laid down by the Rapallo Treaty. Important for the cause of peace was also the conclusion in April 1926 in Berlin of the treaty of non-aggression and neutrality. By the beginning of the 1930s the total number of firms co-operating with the Soviet Union reached 3,000, and 300,000 German workers were engaged in fulfilling Soviet orders. Within a brief space of time Germany became our country's biggest trading partner.

To sum up. Neither the Rapallo Treaty nor its fruitful realization were a matter of chance. The ten years of cooperation in the spirit of Rapallo proved highly beneficial, and served the interests of both countries. And it was not the fault of the Soviet Union that this cooperation was wrecked in the early thirties.

N.T. And so, to use Chicherin's expression, the "swastika-bearers" defeated Rapallo!

Akhtamzyan: Yes, that is what happened. The sad results of the repudiation of Rapallo by the German ruling circles are common knowledge. As one Western journalist observed, that marked the beginning of the decline of Germany "from Rapallo to Stalingrad." But perhaps this tragic course of events proves that there is not nor can there be any rational alternative to the peaceful coexistence that was born 65 years ago in Genoa and Rapallo. That is something worth pondering over on this memorable anniversary.

Interviewer: BORIS BALKAREI

A backup pilot



Mairdorzhav Ganzorig talked to me for more than three hours, the full time he had agreed to make available to me. Yet I was unable to bring myself to ask him one question. It was a very personal one and Ganzorig would perhaps have been reluctant to answer it in the presence of his fellow workers (we talked in his small, cluttered laboratory).

Mairdorzhav Ganzorig was the stand-in for Mongolia's first cosmonaut, Zhugderdemidyn Gurragcha.

For three years the two trained together for a space mission at Star Town outside Moscow. Gurragcha went into space and Ganzorig was left behind. Gurragcha is a household name in Mongolia today. Ganzorig's name is also well known but his fame does not compare with that of his friend. Gurragcha is prominent in public life. Ganzorig heads a laboratory at a research institute and sits cheek by jowl with his colleagues at his desk in a narrow book-lined room.

A quirk of fate. If circumstances had been different, Ganzorig would have been heaped with praise and adulation, and participation in a spaceflight would have changed his life.

Mairdorzhav Ganzorig with Vladimir Lyakhov, backup pilots for the Soyuz-39 space crew.

TASS photo

I kept looking at him furtively trying to guess what his life had been like after Star Town. He is a short, stocky man with a calm face that exudes self-confidence. Physical exertion could not have intimidated him. ("Mongolians make very good pilots," I was told by General Choindon Purevdorzh at the Defence Ministry. "Our boys have everything today's aviation demands: absolute health and perfect nerves. As for the technology, they are well trained at flying school.")

But what about mental strain? Is he capable of further achievements or was Star Town the high point of his life and the best is now all in the past? Did he have the courage to reconcile himself to the modest role of stand-in?

But I was unable to bring myself to put these questions and, moreover, he had made it clear from the start that he had no wish to talk about himself. Our conversation was entirely about the laboratory he had begun to supervise the previous year.

A View from Space

In the spring of 1986, at a theoretical conference in Ulan Bator, Ganzorig delivered a report on a new area of research for the country, the remote probing of natural resources. The conference was devoted to the application of aerospace information in the science and national economy of Mongolia and had been timed to coincide with the fifth anniversary of the joint Soviet-Mongolian space flight.

Mongolia and space. Is there not a contradiction? Can the country afford costly space research? Was it not a false idea of its own stature that prompted Mongolia to send one of its sons into space?

Mongolia has been participating in the socialist countries' joint research since 1959, when two satellite-tracking stations were set up in Ulan Bator and the Gobi Desert. In 1981 the space partnership of Vladimir Dzhaniybekov and Zhugderdemidyn Gurragcha did a good deal for geology and agriculture. Surveys of the area of Lake Khubsugul, for instance, made it possible to start developing large phosphorite reserves.

The "eye in the sky" saw many circular formations, apparently of volcanic origin, in Northern Mongolia. The huge fissures and crisscross structures, which can only be seen from space, must contain minerals. The circular formations are spaced quite regularly, which helps surveyors locate them. Ganzorig went into that promising area of applied studies and in

1986 was offered the chance to set up a laboratory to process aerospace information. In the same year geological surveys of the Mushugai area began. Satellite photography was processed by computers and Ganzorig and his staff drew up a forecast for the distribution of minerals in the area. Field surveys entirely corroborated their conclusions.

For the first time in any country the whole national territory was mapped on the basis of satellite photography. The task now facing Ganzorig's laboratory is to compile the maps needed to draw up comprehensive programmes of development for the country.

The correct reading of photographs taken from space makes it possible to plan for the rational use of the republic's seemingly inexhaustible mineral resources.

"Our studies are oriented not only to the requirements of geologists and cartographers but also to those of livestock breeders," Ganzorig explained. Satellite-aided surveys of vegetation and snowfall patterns help them choose better pastures. Mongolia, whose economy is dependent on livestock breeding, for the most part on pastures, relies heavily on such studies."

The processed data from satellite, rocket and aerological probing make up the backbone of an integrated system for monitoring the natural environment. Photographs processed by Ganzorig's laboratory have indicated, for instance, that a cloud of polluted air is growing rapidly over Ulan Bator. This is the result of the capital's reliance on heat power stations as the main source of power.

Is It Profitable?

"They say that science must be closely allied with production," Ganzorig observed. "We can work under contracts with geologists: the laboratory will make a forecast and prospecting parties will chart their routes accordingly. If our forecasts prove wrong—well, we will get no pay."

"Are you so sure of yourselves?"

"To tell the truth, we have already been put to the test. Hydrologists looked for water in one area, found some but did not tell us. Instead, they asked us to make a forecast. When we had completed the order, they compared our conclusions with their map—and we were right. We are indeed sure that we can help geologists and drilling-rig operators, but what we have to do is to convince them so that they believe in our potential and consider us partners to be relied upon."

Ganzorig's ideas seem tempting, practicable and promising. But there

have been more than enough "simple and profitable ideas" that promised little short of a revolution but ended up deep in the red. What will Ganzorig's prospective partners, the geologists, say about the promise of remote probing?

Those who make detailed studies of proven mineral deposits prior to developing them commercially have no need for Ganzorig's forecasts. The laboratory can help only those who break completely new ground. Such comprehensive surveys are being conducted in Mongolia by the International Geological Expedition, a unique CMEA institution.

Initially, the expedition was scheduled to last five years, but has now been in existence for twice as long. The chief of the expedition, Agvany Gurragcha (the cosmonaut's namesake) is geophysicist by training and a graduate of the geology department at Moscow University. He sees work for a further 15 years: "We have a marvellous infrastructure and invaluable experience, and it would be a pity to disband such a fine team."

What has the expedition achieved?

It has discovered the country's largest molybdenum-tungsten deposit at Undur Tsagan, rich silver and fluor-spar reserves (which can be mined commercially), and other valuable minerals. A vast area has been studied in detail. The expedition in effect trained a whole generation of Mongolian geologists (once an unheard-of profession in the country) and today they are invited to work in Cuba and Vietnam, where large-scale surveys are about to be launched.

"We think our work efficient," Agvany Gurragcha says. "Geologists are happy to have found even a little because they know how difficult it is to wrest from Nature even some of its wealth. But economists say our achievements are far too small. They want new deposits that can be developed commercially. All the founding countries of the expedition are represented on its council. Some need tungsten but others do not. It is even the case that we do not study some deposits, such as coal, as those who subsidize us have no interest in it. We are following the work of Ganzorig and his colleagues closely. If they do what they promise, our job will be easier."

How is the expedition funded? This is not an idle question for it is far from cheap: its annual budget is three million transferable rubles. The budget of the expedition is made up of contributions from the founding countries. Each of Mongolia's CMEA partners has a special interest, of course, and not all expectations have been realized. Three prospecting parties have been looking for one nonferrous

metal for four years without finding any. Economically, this is a net loss.

Nevertheless, the head of the expedition hopes Ganzorig and his team will be successful.

Always Friends

It was a good thing that I did not ask the question that was at the back of my mind. It would have been quite wrong after everything I had learned about Ganzorig's work. He is not a man for whom the past obscures the present.

As we parted, he told me that in the evening he was to address a meeting with Gurragcha, the country's first spaceman.

"Do you see each other often?" I asked.

"Of course we do," Ganzorig said and, guessing perhaps the meaning of my question, added simply, "We are friends, as before."

Ganzorig was born in a small village, graduated from a Polytechnic in Kiev, majoring in automated, control and measurement technology, and returned home to work at a heat power station. Unexpectedly, he was invited to the space research sector of the Institute of Physics and Technology at the national Academy of Sciences in Ulan Bator: they needed an instruments specialist. That was a fresh start.

Then he was enrolled in the cosmonauts' team. After Star Town, however, he had enough courage to turn over a new leaf and went into research. He chose a field related to the research programme carried out by the Soviet-Mongolian crew of the Soyuz-39 spaceship. He worked for three years at the Institute of Space Research in Moscow, successfully submitted his thesis and returned to the Ulan Bator Institute of Physics and Technology from which he had once left for Star Town. It took him no mean effort to prove the validity of his work, but he did it.

In his laboratory Ganzorig has only ten specialists, among them mathematicians, engineers and natural scientists, three of whom have academic degrees.

"The importance of our studies for the national economy will grow from one year to the next," Ganzorig says. "I have an idea: an international centre to process aerospace information should be established, and work in close contact with regional centres...."

Will that Maidorzhav Ganzorig's dream come true? Once before he was one step away from his goal. Let us wish him luck.

LEONID MLECHIN
our special correspondent

Ulan Bator—Moscow

Bernhard Grzimek: Bury me in the Serengeti



We use the word "humanists" to describe those who believe in man. The humanist Bernhard Grzimek devoted his life to animals. The life

and death of the Don Quixote from Frankfort on the Main is an important moral lesson to this sceptical and pragmatic world.

In 1945 he was appointed director of a zoo in Frankfort on the Main and turned smouldering ruins into one of the best zoos in the world. He took up writing and his books were read in 35 languages. He turned to the cinema—the most popular of the arts—to produce the documentary "The Serengeti Must Not Die," which was shown on many continents, won an Oscar, and, most importantly, helped save that wonderful place. Grzimek took up television broadcasting and for three decades was presenter of the programme "A Place for Animals" which in the early seventies was named the best regular TV feature in the F.R.G. In the late fifties he had great difficulty finding a publisher for his magazine "Tier" ("Animal"). The magazine, under his direction, soon became popular.

Professor Grzimek travelled all over the world, but Africa occupied a special place in his writings and thoughts. Some of the brightest and most tragic pages of his life were associated with the continent. Fascinated by the magnificence of the fauna there, Bernhard Grzimek did much to set up and promote a system of national parks in Africa, regarding them as the best form of habitat for wildlife on our urbanized and ploughed-up planet. His books, films, and TV broadcasts attracted world public attention to the problems and vicissitudes of wildlife in Africa, and convinced many of the need to help newly independent states. "They are very poor countries, but they are preserving wonderful nature for all of us, for the whole of humanity, and it is the duty of the developed countries to help them do so," he stressed.

Africa claimed the greatest sacrifice from Bernhard Grzimek. His son and associate, Michael, lies forever in the Ngorongoro crater in the Serengeti National Park where his light aircraft collided head-on with a vulture in flight. The inscription on the grave of 24-year-old Michael Grzimek reads: "He gave all he had, even his life, to protect the wild animals of Africa."

Bernhard Grzimek travelled almost annually to that distant land. Now, having survived his son by 28 years, he will return to rest there forever. In his last letter Grzimek expressed his will: that his ashes be scattered from a small plane over the Serengeti or buried next to Michael in the Ngorongoro crater.

Some years ago Bernhard Grzimek attended the Moscow International Book Fair and discussed the publication of two more of his books in the U.S.S.R.: all in all, eleven of his books have been translated into Russian. They are well loved and much read in this country. During his visit I asked Grzimek where in his view was the Serengeti that must not die, that needs to be saved today. He replied: "Everywhere."

An important and authoritative scientist, Professor Grzimek was among the first to realize that it would require joint efforts by all peoples and countries to preserve primeval nature. He sounded the alarm over the ecological fate of the planet at a time when the word "ecology" was known to few. Grzimek wrote not only about the extermination and extinction of wild animals, but also about the population explosion in the developing countries, which aggravated famines and had an adverse effect on the environment. He pointed to the danger of the barbaric felling of forests and the threat of desertification, the profligate use of natural resources, and air and water pollution.

In 1954, on his return from a trip to the Belgian Congo, he wrote a series of essays entitled "There Is No Room for Wild Animals." He was all but made an object of ridicule. A counter-attack appeared entitled "Don't Worry About Wild Animals." We have come a long way since then. Much of the credit for this goes to the tireless activity of Grzimek and other dedicated crusaders such as Adamson, Cousteau, Durrell, Heyerdahl and Peskov.

In his business correspondence, he used only recycled paper. A naive,

Quixotic attitude? No, an integrity of his personality. Grzimek was not easy to deal with—he could not accept compromises and always acted as his conscience prompted him. He was arrested several times, but he stood his ground.

For all that Grzimek was not a fanatic. Fanaticism makes a person blind, but the professor's melancholy eyes showed that he was very well aware of how far the present world was from his ideal. He was a realist and he understood that nature could be saved not so much by exhortation, as by concrete action and that this costs money.

Some time ago the ageing Grzimek retired from his post as director of the Frankfurter Zoo. But he continued to appear on television. He was not seeking publicity. "I simply must do it," said the Professor, "because I have earned the right to appeal from the screen for contributions towards nature conservation. This money is being used to buy vehicles, radio equipment, coats, tents and even army second-hand uniforms and boots. The staff who man national parks sometimes earn barely enough to feed themselves, and if they die at the hands of poachers, their families are left without a breadwinner."

Grzimek was president of the fund In Aid of Endangered Wildlife. There has never been any shortage of charities in the West, but I submit that Grzimek's fund was unique. Every two years the fund's accounts were inspected by a commission, which invariably reported that 99.2 per cent of the contributions had been used properly. Grzimek emphasized that the fund did not pay managerial salaries, nor did it finance endless trips or congresses like many charity societies.

In his will Grzimek requested that no commemorative ceremonies be held. He even insisted that his relatives publish no announcements of his death in newspapers and that there should be no flowers. He wanted all the money thus "saved" to be remitted to the fund.

ANDREI GURKOV

"At Damme, in Flanders, when May was unfolding the hawthorn blossoms, Ulenspiegel, son of Claes, was born." That is how Charles de Coster begins his "Glorious Adventures of Tyl Ulenspiegel." Romain Rolland regarded this book as the wellspring of Belgian literature, a work that could bear comparison with *Don Quixote* or *Pantagruel*.

The book has often been described as the bible of freedom-fighters, and rightly so. For Tyl Ulenspiegel sowed the whirlwind wherever he could and urged the people to rise against those who ravaged their land.

What is the attitude of his countrymen to Tyl and what does the present generation of Belgians know and think of him?

In Ulenspiegel's homeland

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV

In chapter 35 of the first book of "The Glorious Adventures of Tyl Ulenspiegel" we read: "Having walked for three days, he came to the outskirts of Brussels, to the powerful township of Uccle. Passing before the hostelry of 'The Trumpet,' he was allured by the heavenly odour of fricassees."

What caught my attention at this point in de Coster's book was not the heavenly odour, but the fact that it is in Uccle, now a district of Brussels, that the office of the newspaper *Trud*, where I work, is situated. On the corner of Avenue de Fré and Chemin du Crabegat there is a small plaque, barely visible against the grey wall. It reads: "Here Charles de Coster's hero Tyl Ulenspiegel met the blind men, the lady-archers of Uccle and members of the 'bonne Trogne' brotherhood." There is also a picture of the blind beggars walking in single file, each touching the shoulder of the man in front, and Tyl sitting at a table with plates of food and tankards of ale in front of him....

On the other side of the street there is an old stone house. Its sagging walls and crooked roof, narrow slit-like windows and old-fashioned porch made me think it must have witnessed much. The huge figures on its façade give the date of its construction—1570. Next to it is another red-brick medieval building, which now houses a small restaurant. When I asked its owner if it was "The Trumpet," he nodded and said: "It was here, Monsieur, that

Ulenspiegel fed the blind beggars at the expense of the priest of Uccle." He stated this with such confidence that they might have been yesterday's customers. Indeed, it is quite possible that Charles de Coster had that house in mind. It is common knowledge that he was meticulous about historical details and the building, if one believes the date on it, was already in existence in Tyl Ulenspiegel's day.

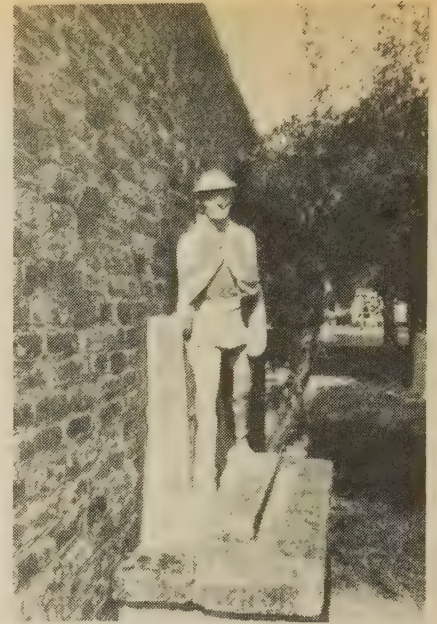
My route took me further to Damme—Ulenspiegel's birthplace. The small town lies about 100 km northwest of the Belgian capital. The road linking it with the next big town (by Belgian standards), Brugge, runs along a picturesque, dead straight canal.

The Owl and the Mirror

On the left stands a stone windmill, reflected in the water of the canal. As it happens, it was built in the same year as de Coster's book appeared—1867. On the right stands Ulenspiegel himself. He is leaning against a brick wall and grinning happily. In his hands are two mirrors, and next to him a pair of owls. Anybody familiar with the book will recognize the symbolism, for de Coster wrote that Ulenspiegel represented wisdom and mirth—the owl and the mirror.

Damme today consists of only a few streets and has a population of about a thousand.

The houses are for the most part old



Monument to Tyl Ulenspiegel in Damme, his legendary birthplace.

stone and brick buildings with high red-tiled roofs. The hospital, which functions to this day, was built in the 13th century. Two decades ago the Town Hall marked its 600th anniversary. Built of white limestone and adorned with a fine belfry and Gothic spires, it looks like a birthday cake. The house opposite it was probably built around the same time and is known—evidently because of its configuration—as the "Big Star." These buildings, with others in Damme, are much older than Ulenspiegel, who, according to de Coster, was born in 1527.

That Damme is Ulenspiegel's birthplace is immediately clear. I had hardly driven into the town when I found a "Tyl" dance club. Next to it was a restaurant named after his friend Lamme Goedzak, the Lamme who insisted that a man's soul is in his stomach. Tyl's name, that of his beloved Nele, and his friends and relatives are to be seen everywhere. Everything in Damme is "A l'Ulenspiegel" from cocktails to steaks.

When I asked the director of the local tourist bureau, Bert van Haecke, about using Tyl's name in advertising food, he replied: "It's good business. Ulenspiegel is good advertising—it attracts tourists and gives proprietor a chance to make money. Don't judge them too harshly. Damme has no industry and most of the people are farmers. And nowadays farming doesn't bring in much money.

That's why they make Ulenspiegel sausages which sell better and at a higher price."

Evidently appreciating that anything connected with Tyl interested me, van Haecke presented me with several guidebooks to Damme, refusing to take any money for them. "Our Ulenspiegel is well known and loved in your country," he said. "Accept them as a token of our regard."

From one of the booklets I learned that Tyl was well known in Damme long before de Coster wrote his book....

To Whom Does Tyl Belong?

From time immemorial Ulenspiegel has been the hero of legends. Several versions of these have been published in book form. The oldest that has survived was published in Germany and is dated 1515. The German Ulenspiegel (Eulenspiegel) was born in Knechtlingen (Braunschweig) and died in Mölln (south of Lübeck) about 1350. The Flemish version, albeit published somewhat later, describes events that take place in the 13th century. The Flemish Ulenspiegel lived and died in Damme. It is quite possible that there was a real Tyl, legends about whom proliferated in time. De Coster preferred the Flemish version and even claimed that the German Tyl was a bastard son. Whatever the truth may be, the hero of the folk legends certainly lived long before the events described in de Coster's book.

In the middle of the 17th century the grave of Tyl Ulenspiegel was found under the church belfry. On the gravestone an owl and a mirror were clearly discernible. The inscription read: "Traveller, stop and look at Ulenspiegel. Pray for a really merry man."

For at least two decades people flocked to the place to pay their respects to the folk hero. Then Nicolas Rommel, a lawyer from neighbouring Brugge, discovered the truth. He established that the inscription on the gravestone was a forgery and the person buried underneath it was the well-known Flemish poet Jacob van Maerlant, who lived in Damme in the 13th century (a statue of him was later erected in the town square, where it stands to this day).

In 1665 Rommel issued an appeal that was publicly read out in the busiest place in the town—the market place. In it he proclaimed: "It is not Ulenspiegel who is buried under the belfry, but Jacob van Maerlant, and his grave has been desecrated.... Ulenspiegel deserves to be hanged." Later, in 1829, the Maerlant-Ulenspiegel gravestone was sold to a stone engraver from Brugge, who cut it into

pieces and used them for the cornice of a building. "But," as van Haecke said to me, "there are plenty of people who still believe that Ulenspiegel really existed and was buried in Damme."

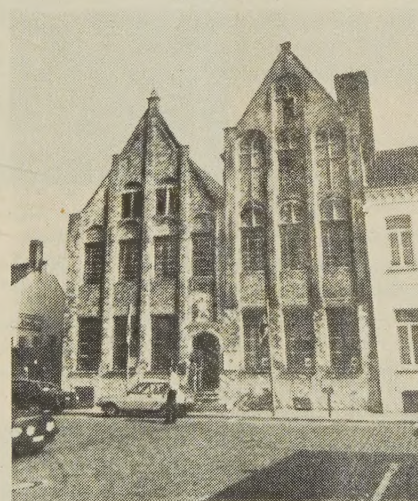
My conversation with van Haecke took place in the "Big Star," where the tourist bureau has its office on the ground floor. Its director and two clerks also have other responsibilities: they hire out bicycles and work in the Ulenspiegel museum that occupies the second and third floors of the building.

It is a modest museum. Most of it is given over to translations of de Coster's book into other languages. This includes a Soviet section. I examined the exhibits with interest and noticed that all the Flemish books about Ulenspiegel were much thinner than the original. Many of them were published for children, and in them the hero was not so much a fighter, as a witty jester.

How do his compatriots regard Tyl? I put that question to many Belgians and in return received almost as many different answers. "An anarchist who recognized no laws," replied one of the national secretaries of the General

The Tyl Ulenspiegel museum.

Photos by the author



Federation of Labour. "An untiring sparkling wit, something of a Flemish baron Munchhausen," said a Damme shopkeeper, who benefited from advertising Tyl's gourmandise. And my neighbour, a pensioner, singled out the romantic theme. "How Tyl and Nele loved each other!" she exclaimed. A student at Louvain University declared, "he was Flanders' national hero, who fought to free it from the Spanish yoke." Several people did not know who I was talking about.

It took quite some time to find somebody who could explain this diversity of views. He proved to be an

interesting Flemish painter living in the city of Rubens—Antwerp. Wall d'Aquavilla has painted a series of portraits of the main female characters from Tyl Ulenspiegel's adventures. Working on them, he made a thorough study of both the history and modern interpretations of the Ulenspiegel legend and the people in his milieu.

"Strange as it may seem," he told me, "in Flanders, and in Belgium in general, Ulenspiegel is not well known. It is thanks to de Coster that he is recognized abroad as Flanders' national hero. In Belgium itself the attitude is contradictory: respect, negation and complete ignorance."

"How would you explain that?"

"Largely, probably, because wide sections of the population are unfamiliar with de Coster's book. It was written in French, as you know. And the national differences between the two parts of Belgium—Flanders and Wallonia—are enough to make the Flemish part, which speaks another language, turn its back on the book. On the other hand, the French-speaking part saw Tyl as a foreigner, a Flemish hero. The old version of the book is probably more popular. However, there he is portrayed not as a fighter for justice, but as a witty and merry man. The first accurate and complete translation of de Coster's book into Flemish was published only at the end of 1984. Up to that time only separate chapters were published in Flanders, with each publisher choosing the parts that suited most his own tastes and political views."

"So that's why some people see Tyl as the hero of a love story, while others regard him as an anarchist?"

"Exactly. Even the neonazis use his name for their own purposes. I know a man in Flanders who collaborated with the nazis during the war. When the Third Reich fell he hid in West Germany for several years, fearing retribution. When he realized that no one was going to arrest him, he returned to Flanders. With the same nazi views. Later he set up an Ulenspiegel fan club. Its meetings are attended by people from other countries, including Federal Germany. They see Tyl as a symbol of the closeness of German and Flemish cultures, a symbol of the struggle against all 'rascals,' especially the Reds. That is a false and very dangerous interpretation of our national hero."

"And how do you see the real Tyl Ulenspiegel?"

"The way de Coster described him: a rebel fighting for freedom, independence and human dignity. An opponent of violence and fanaticism."

Damme—Antwerp—Brussels

After the premiere

Arthur Miller's play at the Sovremennik Theatre

The classical music in the prologue seems to give added emphasis to the ordinariness and the horror of what is taking place on the stage. People of "non-Aryan" origin picked up in a raid are awaiting their fate in the waiting room of a professor of anthropology. Among them is a suave artist, a businessman, a doctor, a waiter from a local café, a boy and an old man.... A cross section of society. Each is hoping for a miracle: perhaps, after all, they will be allowed to walk out free. But deep down they understand that miracles never happen, that there can be no escaping the tragic outcome. Once the door into the room closes behind them, people disappear for ever.

The scene is from Arthur Miller's play "Incident at Vichy" now playing at the Sovremennik Theatre....

The play is set in France in the early forties, during the Nazi occupation. Though originally produced in 1967, it is only now that audiences can see it.

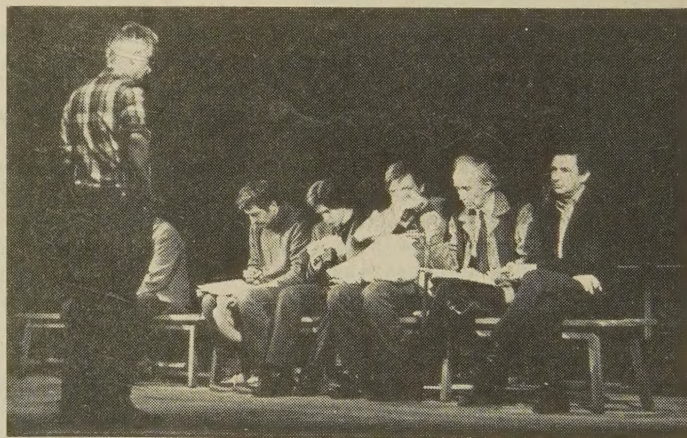
We asked three of those involved in the productions—the first and today's—about the play.

First—**GALINA VOLCHEK**, the theatre's chief director:

On the eve of the premiere we received a message of congratulations from Arthur Miller thanking all those who helped stage his play. Last autumn Arthur Miller came to the Soviet Union to take part in the Issyk Kul Forum. It was his first visit after a long interval. In the mid-sixties he had attended practically all our productions, and he himself had given us the text of his play. His first question when we met again was: "How do things stand with 'Incident at Vichy'?" The producer of the play was Marlen Khutsiyev. Like the first time, the actors included Igor Kvasha, Valentin Nikulin and Gennady Frolov—all of them looking older, but all having succeeded in carrying over the pain of the previous production into the new one.

Next the well-known film director **MARLEN KHUTSIYEV**, who has many times turned to war themes, which is perhaps why Sovremennik invited him to produce Arthur Miller's play:

It may sound paradoxical, but I would like to see this production die quickly. I would like to see the problems it raises disappear. But the play is sure of a long life. I would like



"Incident at Vichy"—a raid on "non-Aryans" during World War II—to remind people today not only of the events of the past, but to speak out loud and clear of the new dangers from today's supermen who want to dominate everything and everyone. The incident at Vichy described by Arthur Miller was, as is often the case with any great artist, the nail on which to hang his views on an issue that goes far beyond the context of one problem—no matter how important.

When I was making the film "It Was the Month of May" I visited Maidanek, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen. I saw the furnaces in which millions of people met their deaths. But today's means of destruction are even more monstrous. The real threat hanging over us

today, one which everyone in the world should fight against, is the nuclear threat. Miller in his play says—and this is how I understand his message—that no one has the right to deprive another of his life. His play is highly essential today.

IGOR KVASHA, who plays the part of the doctor:

A dozen people on the bench... People of different ages, from various sections of society. A small group, a seemingly isolated case. But the play is not so much about the war, or genocide, or fascism. It is about the right of each person to exist, about the preservation of life on Earth—moral, and not just physical survival. It is about the values that seem to be moving further and further away from us, what with the arms race, the threat of nuclear war, and environmental pol-

Marlen Khutsiyev conducting a rehearsal. Photo by V. Perelman

lution.... We know so much about the past—the concentration camps, nazism—that we are no longer appalled by the horror of what happened; we are gradually losing our perception of the tragedy that engulfed the world. War is becoming something commonplace. "Incident at Vichy" gives audiences the chance to identify with the characters in the play and feel what it must have been like to sit on the bench of death. This sense of identity inevitably shocks us all today—no matter how much or how little we know about the war.

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"Young Russia"

The deepening of democracy in all spheres of the life of Soviet society now under way could not but be reflected in the art of the youth, in the character of the exhibition. Hence the interest it evoked. Art lovers flocked to the galleries at Krymsky Val, and many laudatory entries were made in the visitors' book.

Some 5,000 works were submitted, and of these, 1,170 of the most talented, expressive paintings, sculp-

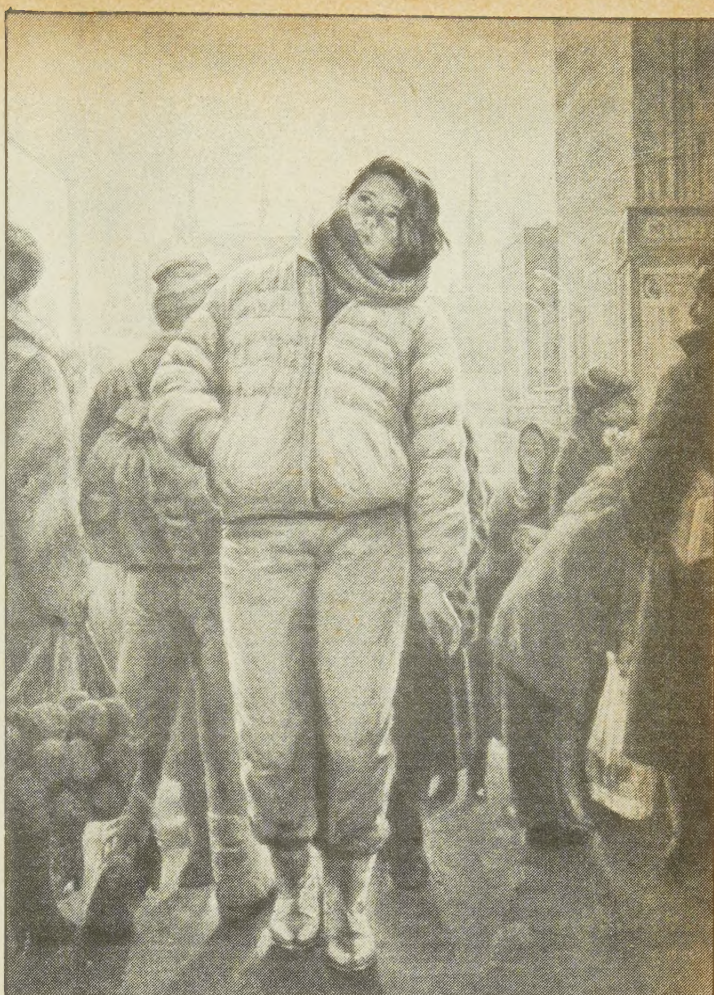


An exhibition of the work of young artists of the Russian Federation was held recently at the Central Artists' House in Moscow.

The leitmotif of the exhibition might be described as an invitation to speak of the problems of today, the problems that occupy the minds of the youth.

tures, drawings and specimens of decorative applied arts were chosen for exposition. A wide range of schools and styles, experimentation and creative quests were represented in the works of the more than 800 artists who took part in the show.

Some of the works were



somewhat naive, some done with the maximalism peculiar to the youth. But the general impression carried away by the thousands who visited the exhibition was one of sincerity, without a trace of hypocrisy or falsity.

● "Fête in an ethnographical museum." Lyudmila Chalaya, Kurgan.

● "A few days in Moscow." Tatiana and Leonid Shvets, Rostov-on-Don.





Musicians have arrived.



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND



Salavat
Safiullin
(U.S.S.R.)

A letter from
the grandson.